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THE LIFE

OF

HENRY CALDERWOOD

LL.D., F.R.S.E.

BY HIS SON

AND THE REV.

DAVID WOODSIDE, B.D.

WITH A SPECIAL CHAPTER ON HIS PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

BY A. SETH PRINGLE-PATTISON, LL.D.

LONDON

HODDER AND STOUGHTON

27 PATERNOSTER ROW

MCM

He bowed himself
With all obedience to the king, and wrought
All kinds of service with a noble ease
That graced the lowliest act in doing it.—TENNYSON.

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PREFACE

THE task of preparing a suitable account of a life which was remarkable for the diverse character of its sustained interests and accomplished aims, has here been attempted by the method of fitting together, chronologically, the allotted portions of two separate authors.

Each author being responsible for his own writing, each is separately indebted for assistance rendered.

In presenting my portion, which I do with the greatest diffidence, I specially desire to thank Professor A. Seth Pringle-Pattison for his valued contribution of the chapter dealing with his late colleague's philosophical works. I thank my mother for constant aid in recollection of past events, and I thank also those who have so kindly contributed to the chapters dealing with University and public work in Edinburgh. I am

greatly indebted to Dr. Hume Brown for revision of proofs.

W. L. C.

EDINBURGH, *1st Aug.* 1900.

The portion of this work with which I have been specially charged has been to pourtray the ecclesiastical life and religious influence of Professor Calderwood. This I have sought to do in Chapters II. to VII. inclusive, and in Chapters XI., XII., XIV., and XVI.

In the performance of this task, I have been greatly indebted to a large circle of friends of the late Professor Calderwood. Besides those whose contributions are acknowledged, I desire specially to thank Rev. David Cairns (late of Stitchell), and Dr. Sydey of New Zealand for help in Divinity Hall chapter; Mr. H. Barnett of Glasgow for information on the ministry in Greyfriars; and Rev. J. Oman, B.D., of Alnwick, and Rev. J. Willcock, B.D., of Lerwick, for kind assistance in correction of proofs.

D. WOODSIDE.

GLASGOW, *August* 1900.

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CHAPTER I

ANTECEDENTS—SCHOOL—UNIVERSITY

(1830–1850)

Peebles—Turnbull's house—Parents—Boyhood—Student at Edinburgh —Sir William Hamilton, "Christopher North," Kelland—John Veitch, David Cairns, and fellow-students—Overwork and illness.

THE quiet old town of Peebles was the birthplace of Henry Calderwood, and, in spite of modern railways and one or two large mills, it is still quiet, and is still in the fresh, healthy country. A Royal Burgh since the time of David II., son of Bruce, the town nestles in the beautiful valley of Tweed, and is surrounded on every side by steep pastoral hills. From Tweed Bridge, where the river is broad and rapid, one can view the old castle of Neidpath standing guard by its wooded defile. The old peel towers, in a chain from Berwick to the Bield, have flashed their warnings on Cromwell's artillery and Prince Charlie's kilted followers. Now, however, all sights and sounds bring a sense of peace and harmony to the county town. *Contra nando incrementum*, runs the legend of the Burgh arms, on which one salmon is depicted swimming to the right, as against the stream, while two are swimming

back again,—the sermon of the salmon on the benefits of adversity.

Three gates or ports formerly pierced the walls, and the street called the Norgate now exists as the entrance from the Edinburgh road, the spacious High Street being still, as we suppose it ever will be, the principal artery of the town. As one enters by Norgate, past the once famous Cleikum Inn, and turns to the right in High Street, the house in which Henry Calderwood was born, on 10th May 1830, is within sixty paces. It can be readily distinguished by a curious old sculptured stone in the centre of the harled wall, bearing date 1717, with the motto, "God's Providence is my inheritance." Never did any of the family visit Peebles but "Turnbull's House" was examined and the old motto read. It seems to have been the object of special interest to the son of the house, for in some of the treasured books of early days, under the boyish signature of Henry Calderwood we find the motto transcribed.

William Calderwood, the father, was also born in Peebles, and is described by those who knew him as a man of keen intelligence, high purpose, and strictly honourable dealing; a fearless Christian, who in judging his course of action sought merely to find the right, without regard to consequences. Once the right was determined, all counting of cost or speculation of result became idle waste of time. A man of great practical insight, he was frequently consulted, both in Peebles and in Edinburgh after he removed there, by those in difficulties, and many had occasion to remark his fearless rectitude as well as his sagacity. His brother's great friend, Rev. J. Dalgleish, a missionary in the West Indies, wrote of him after his

death as follows: "Religion was with him not a profession but a moving principle, going with him where he went and regulating all his conduct, and hence that thorough consistency which commended itself to all who knew him, and made him respected everywhere." On public questions of the time, such as the Corn Laws, Slavery, and Disestablishment, he held strong opinions, nor does he seem to have been in any way slow in giving expression to them. In politics he was an Advanced Liberal, and the Rev. David Cairns, who as a student frequently had the opportunity of discussing matters with him, says that "he was ready to make sacrifices for his political faith; for when the *Scottish Press* newspaper, which was then the organ of the Advanced Liberal party in Scotland, had got into financial difficulties, he became for a time the proprietor of the newspaper; and, as he himself expressed it, lost both temper and money in the unwonted enterprise." Mr. Calderwood was then carrying on the business of a corn merchant in Edinburgh, but it seems probable, from accounts given by the two surviving members of his family, that while he supported the *Scottish Press* as strongly as his finances permitted, he scarcely became actual proprietor.

Elizabeth Mitchell, the mother of Henry Calderwood, was also a native of Peebles, having been born at Kingsmeadows and married at Eshiels, the house occupied by her father, who was land-steward to Sir John Hay, Bart. The remark was made on one occasion, in the hearing of a friend, that Henry Calderwood was a wonderful boy. "Yes," was the reply, "but he had a wonderful mother." With a natural disposition of extreme sweetness, she seemed to combine the very finest qualities of saintly Christianity.

Her habit of mind was calm and humble, and although an invalid for more than twenty years, her gentleness and patience never varied. To the training of her children she is said to have given very great attention, desiring above all things to mould their characters in conformity with the high spiritual standard she herself followed. On occasions when punishment was necessary, however, she did not allow her gentleness to overrule her sense of duty; but the punishment was administered only after the necessity for it had been clearly proved to the culprit. Unlike many who grow up familiar with the aspects of country life, she was, from an early age, very susceptible to the influences of Nature. Her whole being seemed to derive a deep and pure enjoyment from the beauties which were ever before her eyes in the valley of Tweed. What perhaps may be described as her sensitiveness, coupled with her constant religious thought, was shown in her remarkable dreams.

On one occasion, without apparent reason, she dreamt she stood upon Tweed Green, the common of Peebles. She required to cross the river but could not find a place sufficiently shallow. As she searched up and down the bank for a suitable place to enter the water, a voice came to her from the opposite side, saying, "No, *you* must come at the deepest, but do not be afraid, I have crossed before you." And when she looked into the deep running water she could distinguish footprints on the bottom. It happened that shortly after dreaming thus she passed through a very severe illness, but she ever maintained that the recollection of this dream helped her to endure her great suffering.

Old Dr. John Brown, as distinguished from young Dr. John (author of *Rab and his Friends*), who was a

personal friend, had great admiration for the gentle and most patient sufferer, and in Edinburgh, where the family took up residence, he as her minister repeatedly declared her to be one of the finest Christian characters he had ever known.

Both parents, it may be gathered, therefore, followed a particularly high standard. The families of both attended "The Gytes Meeting House" in Peebles—the building still exists,—and their sympathies lay with that form of worship which since 1733 had insisted upon the independent judgment of the individual as opposed to Patronage and Moderatism. It may be that their opinions on most points of doctrine and church management might nowadays be considered uncompromising and narrow. Covenanters held such opinions, and covenanting staunchness stood Scotland in good stead. In thus viewing the parents of Henry Calderwood we seem to see that from the father the son took his great strength of character, his natural dignity, his alertness, and his disregard of consequences when dealing with a matter of Christian duty; while from the mother he seems to have taken his gentleness and sagacity, his earnestness of purpose, and his remarkable and most lovable humility of soul. The family consisted of four sons and one daughter. A son and daughter now survive.

Other Calderwoods of the time may be shortly referred to. According to the usual Scotch custom Henry Calderwood, the subject of this memoir, being the eldest son, was named after his grandfather on the father's side, an upright, but decidedly stern disciplinarian, from all accounts. Another Henry Calderwood, an uncle, went to South Africa in the service of the London Missionary Society. He was a man of great

determination and personal bravery, known among the Kafirs as "the man with the lion's eyes." During the serious native risings, in compliance with the earnest request of Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Governor of Cape Colony, he accepted, in 1846, the office of "Commissioner for the Caffre tribes," and subsequently became Civil Commissioner of the district of Victoria. Another uncle, and one whom Henry as nephew was more familiar with, remained as a farmer in his native Peeblesshire. He was a fearless yeoman on occasion, but his most conspicuous characteristic seems to have been his endless good humour and practical joking.

When the family removed to Edinburgh from Peebles, the boy Henry was two years old. But from time to time, in the years which succeeded, visits were paid to relatives who lived in the neighbourhood of his birthplace. His sister, writing of this time, says the interest in Peebles was always kept up, "as for many years the summer months were spent in the district, first at Soonhope, then either at Dawick Mill or in Peebles itself. His mother, too, helped to develop in him the love of the beauties of Nature around his early home, as she often spoke of the impression they made on her as a girl. Going out in front of her father's house in the spring mornings and seeing all the fresh beauty, and listening to the singing of the birds, she thought all Nature vocal, and used to repeat to herself that hymn of Addison's, beginning :—

> When all Thy mercies, O my God,
> My rising soul surveys,
> Transported with the view, I'm lost
> In wonder, love, and praise.

Like most lads of the district, Henry Calderwood

learned at an early age to cast his fly with skill. Angling was ever his favourite pastime, and often afforded the particular form of relaxation most needed at the close of a heavy session's work. In fishing he was not in any way fired with a desire merely to kill fish. Perhaps his boyish experiences on the Peeblesshire streams, where the trouts see a great variety of lures and a great number of fishers, and where in consequence much care and patience has frequently to be exercised without much reward, had taught him to be satisfied with the practice of the art of fly-fishing rather than with a heavy basket filled by a more deadly but less sporting lure. One or two tales of those early days may be deemed not out of place. When he was still a very little fellow, it is said that he was discovered on one occasion at Soonhope Farm, wielding a huge coal hammer, and with diligence and much dust smashing all the lumps of coal he could find.

"Who made the coals?" he asked when discovered by his mother.

"God."

Then probably surmising that his own condition would be criticised, he asked, "Did God black His hands when He made the coals?" And upon still further reflection: "Who made God?"

It has since been remarked that the last question was clearly an earnest of his first published work on the *Philosophy of the Infinite.*

The illness which caused the permanent delicacy of his mother arose soon after the family settled in Edinburgh. Henry had an intense regard for his mother, and the deep sympathy so characteristic of him all through life was no doubt developed in those early

days, when not only his mother's great physical suffering, but the deaths of two younger brothers made a deep impression upon him.

As a small boy he went to school in Circus Place; afterwards he attended the Edinburgh Institution, and later the Royal High School, the great reputation of which was then at its highest. One of his colleagues at the University, the late Sir Thomas Grainger Stewart, was a class-fellow at the High School. Besides gaining a few prizes he seems to have met with such experiences as fall to the lot of boys of high spirit when placed under the charge of ill-regulated teachers. The teachers seem to have been of scarcely so high level as the teaching. In after life, when acting as Chairman of the first Edinburgh School Board, he published his little book *On Teaching*, and in this are reminiscences of his own school-days. We may perhaps be permitted to quote from the chapter on Self-Government :—

I shall never forget the warning on this subject which stands out before me from my recollections of school-days. Our teacher was a gentleman of large attainments and vast energy of character, with immense muscular power, but, unfortunately for himself and us, an irritable temper. He was in no wise restrained by the new-fangled notions adverse to corporal punishment. If sternness of manner and severity of chastisement could have deterred boys from disturbing a master, he should have dwelt in perfect peace. Instead of this, his life and ours were subjected to constant worry. The scourging went on hotly each day, and the disorder roared around in the grandest style. He was fond of a good implement, which would swing well round his shoulders, and come firmly down upon ours. This he found in a strap, which he applied with the buckle-end, after the strap had been drawn through the buckle. Soon after the school had been opened for the day the din began to rise. His eyes wandered about excitedly, his fingers twitched nervously

around the belt. Speedily some poor unfortunate was observed committing a trivial offence, for which in ordinary circumstances a word of rebuke would have been ample punishment, but the teacher was incapable of resting with moderate measures. This youth's fault gave occasion for the inevitable outbreak; the "strapping" process began, and soon became general, to the mingled consternation and delight of most of us, who dreaded a "whack," but exulted in a "row." Government in such circumstances became hopeless. Worst of all, the teacher was often at fault in the distribution of his merciless strokes. The love of fair-play awoke sympathy for the innocent sufferer, and enmity against the teacher. Once a book was thrown at the master by some one more daring than the rest. In his fury the teacher rushed upon one of the pupils and belaboured him. Unfortunately, he had selected the wrong boy. Things reached their climax. The actual transgressor stepped out on the floor, his face glowing with indignation, while he shouted: "Why do you strike him? He did nothing. I threw the book." The scene of application was changed. The strap now flew round the proper shoulders, but a fight ensued, in which the teacher had the worst of it morally, if not physically. Teaching in such circumstances was hopeless, and the attempt soon came to an end.

No wonder this man was known as the Thrashing-mill. In the following chapter another reminiscence is given:—

I can recall in the experience of my own school life the miserable days spent under a teacher who seemed at times to lose all control of himself. . . . The result soon appeared in signs of general insubordination, as in another case to which I have already referred. The consequence of this state of things was a chronic suspicion in the mind of the teacher that evil designs were being harboured. This suspicion gained such power over him that I have known him stand behind the door, "tawse" in hand, to get a speedy and favourable opportunity for venting his rage upon some one suspected of

plotting mischief. The *ruse* could not be successfully repeated. The scholars became suspicious in turn. A precautionary peep through the chink of the door preceded entrance to the room. When a dark form was detected obscuring the light, the door was pushed well back, and a sudden leap was made into the room, which baffled the master, was a source of great delight to those already in their places, and gave the victim a fair chance for facing round and eluding the strap as it flew wildly about. Things soon came to a height there. A council of war was held, plotting treason against the reigning authority. It was decided that "the tawse"—instrument of offence to us all—should be disposed of. On a fitting opportunity the strap was seized and concealed. At the end of the day it was triumphantly carried out of the school. How to dispose of it was a temporary difficulty. An empty cab passing along the street afforded a suitable receptacle. Cabby, unconscious of the part he was playing, peaceably carried it away.

To this tale need only be added the point of special interest in the present connection. The boy who banged the door back upon the sneaking teacher, who abstracted the tawse, and subsequently threw them into the cab, was Henry Calderwood. "Leather may be a useful commodity, but it is not a substitute for thought," he has written.

University life began in 1847, when Henry Calderwood matriculated in Edinburgh for the Arts curriculum. The classes of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, which Arts students are still expected to "take out" for the first winter's work, were then conducted by Professors Pillans, Dunbar, and Kelland respectively. Classics, although diligently worked at, seem never to have formed a very congenial study. A good working acquaintance with them was maintained throughout life, but they were not kept up by reason of any pleasure to be drawn from them. Even this can

scarcely be said for Mathematics. The mental process necessary for the conduct and appreciation of exact science was foreign to the metaphysical bent of his mind. In after years, as a teacher of philosophy, he found that the converse almost invariably held good, viz., that those students who excelled in classics, and more especially in mathematics, were unable, as a rule, to take a prominent place in his own class. Professor Kelland, whom all have spoken of as a good and genial soul, was at times sorely puzzled by his metaphysical student. He found that Calderwood was ever disposed to regard propositions from a somewhat philosophical standpoint, was even at times inclined to call in question the axioms of the science, in so far at least as those axioms were found expressed in the Professor's own handbook. His fellow-student (now Rev. David Cairns) writes of the mathematical class as follows: "I remember on one occasion the Professor admitted that the student had hit a weak place in the book, and promised to alter or modify the Rule in a subsequent edition. I think it must have been at the close of the session that Professor Kelland, whom we all admired and loved, in announcing the prize list for the year, referred in a half-humorous, half-sad fashion to the failure of some of the students, who would have been distinguished mathematicians if they had not given themselves over to the pestilent heresy of metaphysics." Sir William Hamilton's famous article, "On the Study of Mathematics as an Exercise of Mind," published in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1836, had shown to the world how he regarded the study, viz., that "reasoning in mathematics is like walking in a ditch, you go right because you can't go wrong." The opinion of so distinguished a man, expressed in terms

so definite as to call forth much comment, must naturally have produced a marked impression on the minds of such students as followed with close interest and attention all writings of the philosopher, more especially on the minds of those who already found the study of mathematics uncongenial. In the first year of student life, in addition to classics and mathematics, we find that the lectures of Mr. Donaldson on the Theory of Music were also attended, and this, while certainly showing that love for music which lasted with him through life, may perhaps have acted as a mitigation of the pains of Kelland's class.

Hamilton's junior class was entered the second winter session (1848). The Professor had then partially recovered from the paralytic stroke which had so seriously disabled him for months. The right side had been permanently injured and the power of speech considerably hampered. With intellect unimpaired, however, and with characteristic courage, the sufferer had recommenced his University duties. Writing had to be done with the left hand, the right being commonly supported within the buttoned-up coat, as shown in a photograph which long hung on the study wall of the author of the *Philosophy of the Infinite*. That the left-hand writing became sufficiently easy may be gathered from the fact that the edition of Reid's works upon which Hamilton was engaged when the seizure came upon him, was completed, and in addition, a work incorporating his more important articles—including that on mathematics—was subsequently published. He was compelled, however, to deliver personally only a portion of each lecture, the remainder being read by his assistant, Mr. (afterwards Rev. Dr.) Selkirk Scott. We are indebted to Rev. David Cairns for a descrip-

tion of how the class was conducted. He writes as follows :—

Three or four lectures were given in the week, and the remaining days were occupied with oral examination on the lectures previously given, or by the students giving what was called "additional information," which might be of a very miscellaneous character, if it had only any distinct bearing on the subjects discussed in the lectures. Sir William had before him a jar containing all the letters of the alphabet on pasteboard. On examination days, with the jar before him and having thoroughly mixed the letters, he took out the letter which came first . . . and asked if any gentleman (whose name began with the letter) was prepared to be examined on the lectures. . . . As the examination was purely voluntary, only a comparatively small portion of the class felt the obligation of stating their views or recollections of what had been said of the "Science of the Laws of Thought, as Thought," or the "Quantification of the Predicate," or other subjects as important or abstruse. In a short time it came to be known who the students were who were prepared to be thus examined, and when the letter C turned up, and the formula "any gentleman in C" was uttered, it was a sure find, and whoever else failed, Henry Calderwood was ready for the ordeal. I have no doubt that his natural gift of ready, clear, and accurate speech, the faculty of thinking and speaking when on his feet, which so distinguished him in many after debates, received its first bent and culture in this way.

In the senior course of this class he gained the second prize, the first place being taken by his friend John Veitch, who, also a Peebles boy, afterwards became Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Glasgow. In the third and fourth places came his friends, William Scott and David Cairns, who, like himself, afterwards entered the United Presbyterian Church. From Sir William Hamilton he also received

a special prize for an essay given out as a vacation exercise.

In the class of Moral Philosophy under "Christopher North," and in that of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres under Professor Edmonstoune Aytoun, he was also most successful. On the back of his Moral Philosophy class ticket, still in existence, the Professor has written in his large free hand—"April 10th, 1850. Mr. Henry Calderwood was in all respects one of the very best students in the class, and his name stands third on my prize list.—JOHN WILSON."

It has been said, and perhaps correctly, that at this period the University of Edinburgh had a more than European reputation on account of the three men who formed her school of metaphysic and the belles-lettres. It may therefore be permissible to believe that such minds as came under the influence of Hamilton, Wilson, and Aytoun, having a natural aptitude for the subjects referred to, received a very special stimulus. Veitch writes,[1] that from the commencement of his career as a lecturer—

> and during the twenty years that he occupied the chair, Sir W. Hamilton was the means of inspiring and impressing young minds—opening up to them new fields of thought and vision—giving principles and convictions which passed into any intellectual, moral, and religious life to a degree and an extent which has very rarely been equalled by any academic teacher. And this he did not accomplish through any elaborate system of class drilling and general mental discipline. He was not ready as an examiner on lectures or text-books, did little by interrogation, and had not at any time much power of oral explanation or illustration. . . . The power which passed as the shock of a new life into many minds lay primarily in the man, the matter of his teaching, and his

[1] *Life of Sir W. Hamilton*, p. 217.

felt personal relation to his subject. The feeling he inspired was that of one who did not teach from the low level of a professional accomplishment, but who had naturally, spontaneously, and with full simplicity of heart found in his high theme the nourishment of his thought and life. He had been

> By love of truth
> Urged on; or haply by intense delight
> In feeding thought wherever thought could feed.

Philosophy was not a thing appended to him, which he could take up and lay down . . . but it was . . . part and parcel of the man himself. To reflect and to inquire on the great questions regarding matter, mind, freedom, God—the finite and the infinite—had obviously been not the business of his life, but his very life.

. . . His method was a purely synthetic one—he was careful to mark out in the most general form the limits and the various departments of the science he was treating, and to develop his doctrines under each head in complete obedience to the natural laws and instincts of the understanding. He thus made a strong demand on the attention of every student; but, when once this was given and an interest awakened, the listener was readily and naturally carried on from the more elementary to the more advanced parts of the science. It was thus that, while any ordinary student who was able and willing to give the requisite attention could follow the lecture, those who had an aptitude for the subject were | quickened and captivated, and even roused to enthusiasm. . . .

Curiously blended with all this power of the teacher there was a wonderful fascination about the man. His personal appearance in the chair was to the end exceedingly impressive. . . . The dignity, earnestness, and simplicity of his character showed themselves in his manner as a lecturer. Though felt to be so high above the student in intellect and learning, he was withal so unaffected, so courteous, so kind in his dealings with the members of his class—so ready to explain difficulties and answer inquiries—that love and reverence for the man were blended with enthusiastic admiration for the teacher.

The late Principal Cairns,[1] recalling his experiences in the class, writes as follows :—

The fascination of so commanding a personality for young and susceptible minds can easily be understood. It was assisted by the novelty of the lectures, and by the sense of novelty even on the part of the lecturer, which had its stimulating effect on the audience as they strove to march with him through the unexplored regions of a first course. If I may judge from myself, it must have cost even those who at all succeeded a great effort. The style was wholly new in our philosophical literature. It was replete with technical terms, and bristled with Latin and even Greek words and quotations. It carried with it a constant load of definitions and distinctions, and involved, even in its elementary statements, difficult processes of analysis and criticism which could only be fully mastered at an advanced stage. . . . Another slough of despond was the enunciation of the fundamental laws of thought; and many a shuffle of the feet entreated the lecturer to pause upon and repeat, for the enlightenment of a wholly bewildered audience, such dark formulas as that of the law of contradiction, "A – A = O." I do not think, indeed, that I ever saw more blank dismay upon any countenances than that which sat upon the majority of the class during this lecture. Some, perhaps many, abandoned the effort henceforth; but to a select minority, and that by no means inconsiderable, the sense of difficulty acted with the force of inspiration. . . . Gradually to those who waited for it, day broke upon the extensive prospect, and the toil of climbing, with the horror of darkness, gave place to exhilaration.

Dr. Cairns also recalls a circumstance in words which might have been spoken by almost any later student with regard to Henry Calderwood :—

During the session it was the custom of Sir William to invite his students in parties to his house . . . I recollect nothing of the conversation on the first occasion when I thus

[1] *Life of Sir W. Hamilton*, p. 228.

met him, except the general impression of unaffected kindness and simplicity, which was increased by every subsequent interview.

We have thus dwelt on the characteristics of Sir William Hamilton and of his class, because although Henry Calderwood ultimately became a successor to "Christopher North," his student days were much more intimately connected with the former, and because his reputation as a thinker of decided metaphysical ability was first established by the independent criticism of Sir William Hamilton's views with regard to the Infinite.

From the first the student seems to have been imbued with the feelings of veneration which impressed to a greater or less extent all students of the veteran philosopher. Perhaps extra intensity might be expected in the case of Henry Calderwood from the intimate attention he gave to Hamilton's work after the actual course of study was ended. It was at the same time characteristic, that feelings of respect and admiration once formed should continue. Never was man more constant, more loyal in such matters. Yet we do not find any indications of hero-worship, or attempts to model his work along the lines of the great thinker whose ideas he studied. Those who were students along with him indicate that in these early days he was disposed to take a keener, more enthusiastic, perhaps a more combative view of any matter in hand than was the case in later life. Perhaps this simply means that he was then fired by the introduction to large subjects, concerning which he afterwards gained wider experience. All through life, however, when met by circumstances which appealed to his sense of injured justice or fair-play, he did not hesitate to become combative. That the high sense of esteem for his

old Professor, his mentor in metaphysics, remained with him through life was, however, always evident, and the manner in which his Professor's position as to the Infinite was combated, shows clearly that even in his student days he knew well how to differ without feeling a shade of animosity.

But before the course in the curriculum of arts was completed, there were unmistakable signs that the hard term of study was telling heavily upon him. His appearance was described by a class-fellow as "pale and somewhat feeble." Ultimately he came into the doctor's hands, and it was found that he was suffering from inflammation of the lungs. The time-honoured treatment of bleeding was resorted to, and the thoroughness with which the dear old family doctor carried out his practice seems to be indicated by the rapid decline of strength which followed. Then came a time when it was feared first, that his constitution would never be able to stand such work as his mental capacity seemed to forecast for him, and then, that a premature end to his career was in the near future.

He had several attacks of inflammation, and during the first of these, when he was about sixteen years of age, he determined to devote his future life to the service of Christ, and to study for the ministry. He entered into full communion with the United Presbyterian Church under Rev. Dr. John Brown, Broughton Place, in whose church his own father was then an elder, and where he shortly became a Sabbath-school teacher. His University studies, however, and the earlier teaching at Broughton Place Church were much broken into by his repeated attacks of inflammation. "I wish I was done with it all and away," he said on one occasion. The malady at last became so acute

that he was told that, in spite of his determination, it would be impossible for him ever to preach. In after years the falsification of this medical opinion was often made use of by him to encourage overworked and ailing students. The disappointment to him was naturally very keen at the time, but the ultimate conclusion of his old medical friend, who had watched him grow up and had come to regard him almost as a son, brought with it a much more violent shock.

"Henry," said the doctor, "there is only one chance for you. You must spend next winter in Madeira."

We have heard, on more than one occasion, a description of the argument which followed, and it is worth repeating, as showing the tenacity of purpose which was strong even at this date, and under such seemingly imperative circumstances. It concluded somewhat as follows:—

"I'll not be responsible for your life if you stay another winter at home."

"Well, if I'm going to die I'll die at home, but I am not going abroad."

"You are a very stubborn young man, but if you are determined to stay in this country, you will need to do exactly as I tell you."

"I'll do anything you like, but I am not going abroad."

"You will never go out in the evening."

"Very well."

"You will come straight home from the University at two o'clock, and you will not go out again."

"Very well."

"And you will never go out at any time without a respirator over your mouth."

"Very well."

The pledge, like every other he ever gave, was carried out to the letter, but when Mr. David Cairns left Edinburgh at the end of that session, he said good-bye to his friend in the belief that he would never see him again.

The University career ending in this pathetic fashion, it was decided that he should take a year's rest in the country before attempting to begin any theological studies. This saved his life. He retired to the pure air of his native county, and from Dawick Mill Farm, where he lived with his grandfather, he was free to wander as his strength permitted, either down the Tweed towards Peebles, or up the water to Drummelzier. With a rod in his hand and a creel on his back, we can imagine him exploring the burns he did not already know, for Lyne, and Soonhope, and Manor were more familiar to him than the upper burns that drain the Scrape and the Long Grain Knowe. As transpired later, however, much of his time was given to the study of his now favourite subject of philosophy. The fellow-students who were also destined for the Theological Hall of the United Presbyterian Church gained a year's start of him, but the complete change and the fresh country air acted like a charm, for he was never again troubled with any lung disorder.

Even in these student days the keen interest in public questions was marked in no small degree. The pronounced nature of his father's views leaves no doubt as to the political atmosphere with which he was surrounded. From his earliest days he had listened to, or taken part in, the discussion of all questions of the time; and just as a child naturally grows up with a mind prepared for the particular views of religious doctrine which are inculcated by parental influence, so

the first cause of his political faith seems to have arisen from the domestic political leaning. With intense earnestness of purpose, and a tendency to wage war against unrighteousness in any form, he fearlessly threw in his lot with the advanced Radical party. It may be, that in those early days he was more disposed to somewhat extreme and masterful courses than was afterwards the case, but he does not appear to have assumed in any way that air of superior wisdom which so often characterises the student of the University Debating Society. At the meetings of "The Dialectic," he frequently spoke, but it was impossible for him, with what may be termed his uncommon sense, to allow the debate, when in his hands, to degenerate into a display of epigram or a fatherly advice to the Government of the day. In treating large and contentious questions he appears to have had an instinctive inclination all through life to clear away such obstacles as tended to divide forces, to draw out points of similarity rather than points of contrast. But when the issue at stake seemed one involving moral rectitude his position was governed solely by conscience. Once convinced that a particular course was the right one, no question of expediency as opposed to the right was even thought of. If fighting seemed necessary, he did it with a will. In these student days he seems not infrequently to have championed the cause of justice or fair-play with a zest not altogether temperate, but in after life his impulse remained the same, though his actions were guided by an infinitude of wisdom and forethought. His fellow-students knew him to be brave and determined, and at the same time possessed of the most unselfish consideration for others. Perhaps few of

them suspected that he was naturally possessed of a quick temper, for he had already done much to master any failing of this kind. "He was always a bright presence in the home," writes his sister, "and from early years a helpful one, for he was most unselfish, and ever ready to give up his own wishes if by doing so he could help others."

CHAPTER II

AT THE DIVINITY HALL

Course of training—Professors—Position in class work—Debating power—Holyoake incident—Early friends—Love of music.

It has been a tradition of the Scottish churches from the days of Knox that those who are to engage in the 'Ministry of the Word' should be thoroughly equipped for their task. Even in Knox's time a candidate for the ministry, in addition to a four years' arts course, spent five years in the study of theology, and with slight alteration that arrangement holds in the Presbyterian churches to-day. The men who founded the Secession and Relief Churches determined, notwithstanding great temptations to act differently, that those whom they licensed to preach the gospel should be as thoroughly equipped for the work as they themselves had been; and that resolve has been honourably carried out by their successors down to the present time. For nearly a hundred years the students of the Relief Church were educated in the Divinity Halls of the universities, but from the first the Secession Church instituted a theological college of its own, and ordained that the course of training should extend over five sessions of two months each, with very careful examina-

tion by Presbyteries during the ten months' recess. This arrangement was adopted by the United Presbyterian Church at the Union in 1847.

In August 1851 Henry Calderwood, who had now completed his studies in arts, was enrolled as a student of the Divinity Hall of the United Presbyterian Church, which then met in Queen Street, Edinburgh. The long and trying illness in which several times he had faced death, and in which he had made up his mind to give himself to the service of Christ, has already been referred to. Notwithstanding the solemn warning of his doctor, he entered the Divinity Hall and determined to go forward with his theological studies. He was never easily daunted, and already revealed that firm determination which characterised him throughout life. His contemporaries at the Hall recall his appearance during that first session as that of a pale, delicate-looking youth with a hectic flush on his cheeks, who seemed marked out for an early grave. One who was with him at that time writes :—

> The hectic flush on his cheek told us that he might not be spared long, but in disposition and character he was the same that he was in his latest years. He had the same acute mind, the same decided opinions, the same clearness and force in expressing his views, the same brotherly kindness. Next year the appearance of delicacy had totally passed away, and he was as strong-looking as he was in his later years.

With regard to those far-off years at the Divinity Hall, the memories of old fellow-students are now somewhat dim, and few letters have been preserved. It is possible, however, to get a tolerably clear picture of life at the Hall in those days, and of the influences that would be brought to bear upon a young and ardent soul.

During the first week of August the students gathered into Edinburgh from every part of the country where they had been pursuing their avocations, some engaged in mission work, others teaching, and some even working at trades. There, in the old Queen Street buildings, they met for four hours each day for lectures, examinations, and the reading of Scripture in Hebrew and Greek. The students first entered the Junior Hall, where they remained for two years. The Professors there were Dr. Eadie and Dr. Lindsay. Professor Eadie was a man of European reputation, and for massiveness of scholarship and immense erudition had few equals in any divinity school in Great Britain. He was broad, dashing, brilliant, massive of head, large of limb and large of nature, a man full of the humanities, and possessing a vein of genuine humour. The students were under his tuition for two hours every day, reading portions of Scripture in Hebrew and Greek, and hearing lectures on the Canon, Inspiration, the Pentateuch, Hebrew Poetry and Prophecy.

The other Professor in the Junior Hall, Dr. Lindsay, lectured upon Sacred Languages and Criticism. The line of demarcation between his subject and Dr. Eadie's was not very distinct, so that the two Professors were often found on common ground. It afforded not a little amusement to the mirth-loving and keen-eyed students to discover that their teachers, when dealing with the same subject, would often in delightful ignorance vigorously attack each other, the one assailing a theory or an interpretation the other had most laboriously defended. Yet when it came to essentials and the eternal verities of the faith not even the keen-eyed student could detect divergence. There they were firm as a rock. Dr. Lindsay might be called the John or

Nathaniel of the Professoriate, and drew the students to him by a singularly winsome personality. His warm and generous heart is reflected in the last place where we should expect to find it—his annual Synodical Report.

After having passed two sessions under these Professors Mr. Calderwood entered the Senior Hall. The Professors there were Dr. John Brown of Broughton Place, Edinburgh, grandson of the Rev. John Brown of Haddington, Dr. M'Michael, and Dr. Harper.

Dr. Brown's subject was Exegetical Theology. In Broughton Place Church he had established his reputation by expository lectures upon Scripture, and in a slightly amended form he gave to the students what he had already delivered to his people. The very striking sketch of him from the pen of his gifted son—the author of *Rab and his Friends*—reveals a man of singularly intense nature, of austere, almost lonely piety, and of keen and powerful intellect. He had a beautiful face, and in old age looked the very picture of reverence. A little girl, taken for the first time to Broughton Place Church, when she saw the old man in the pulpit with the long white hair and almost angelic countenance, asked if that was God. Young Calderwood not only came under the influence of this remarkable man as a student, but as a member of Broughton Place Church had enjoyed Dr. Brown's ministry during the most impressionable period of life. No doubt the habit of expository lecturing which he afterwards developed in Greyfriars, Glasgow, was derived from Dr. Brown, and a good deal of the devout and earnest spirit which characterised him even in early youth was caught from this saintly man.

The chair of Church History was filled by Professor M'Michael. From his faculty of graphic description

he could give vividness to dull detail, and human interest to the dead controversies of the past. But, while his writing was clear and incisive, his extempore interpolations were often garnished with such unmeaning expletives as "Yes, Aye, Perhaps," and this, combined with the facile play of an expressive, yet kindly face, led him to be regarded by the students as the unconscious humourist of the Professoriate.

The Professor of Dogmatic Theology was Dr. Harper, who continued to teach down to a time of which the present writer has personal recollections. To a singularly keen intellect he united the gift of sharp and somewhat snell speech, which caused him to be held in respect alike by friend and foe. In outward appearance he was a fine example of the Christian gentleman, with well-moulded features, clear true eyes, and a noble forehead. The expression of his face was somewhat cold, but he constantly gave proofs to the students of a thoroughly warm heart. More than any of the Professors, he helped by his searching and incisive criticism of sermons to mould the future preaching of the Church.

There was probably in no Divinity Hall in all Scotland a group of five men more capable than these of leaving deep and lasting impressions. They were all men of marked individuality of character, of sound scholarship, and deep piety. Continual contact with men of such high ability and saintly character would exercise a deep influence upon every student with a heart, and Henry Calderwood would least of all fail to catch the spirit of religious earnestness and devotion to the cause of Christ that was so manifest in his teachers.

In the general work of the Hall Calderwood took a good, but so far as the recollections of his

fellow-students go, not a distinguished place. He had come up from the University with a considerable reputation in philosophy, to which, as we shall see, he was yet very greatly to add before he closed his career in Divinity. He does not seem to have taken a foremost place in the kindred subject of Theology. "I cannot recall anything," says one of his fellow-students, "specially distinguishing Dr. Calderwood as a student, save that he was always well prepared with his work in the various classes and acquitted himself well. He gave the impression that there was in him a reserve of power, that had not been fully drawn upon." In a small denominational Hall which was in session for only eight weeks in the year, there was not much room for excellence in class examination. The rivalry was not so keen as at the University, and the studies were not so exacting as to draw out a man's power to the utmost. Even had Calderwood so desired, it would have been difficult in these studies to have left a mark of memorable excellence, but during all those years [1] at the Hall he was absorbed in philosophical studies, which ultimately issued in the book which was to make his name. His deep conscientiousness, as marked then as in later years, prevented him from neglecting any of his studies, but the absorption that the preparation of such a work would demand in so young a man, would make it impossible to display any conspicuous ability in Theological study. One of the chief features of work at the Divinity Hall was the hearing of discourses prepared by the students and delivered in the class-room in presence of the Professor. After a portion of the discourse had been delivered or *slyly read*, the Professor gave his criticism.

[1] Delivery of discourses from memory was the rule.

Usually judgment leant to the side of leniency, but where there had been a display of conceit or conspicuous ignorance the lash often fell heavily. This ordeal Calderwood invariably passed through successfully.

A student is sometimes remembered for the freshness and ability displayed in his sermons. Those upon whom their fellows thus bestow the laurel wreath are not always the popular preachers of after years, but they are usually men with distinct and original qualities of mind. Not in this respect either did Calderwood's work leave any memorable impression. The same fellow-student whom I have quoted before, and who was a life-long friend, states that in the year 1853 he wrote down a criticism opposite the sermon delivered by each student of his year, and he finds in referring to this old note-book the following criticism on a sermon preached by Mr. Calderwood on Job xxxiv. 22: "Good sermon, but he can do better!" The subject, "There is no darkness, nor shadow of death, where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves," is certainly not an easy one for a young man, but the above criticism confirms the impression that his full strength was not being given to the Hall work.

In one respect, however, he readily and quickly achieved distinction. "He had the power in a marked degree," says one of his fellow-students, "of making a speech or answering the arguments of an opponent on the spur of the moment, and as a debater he was unanimously accorded the first place." In those days there was no theological or debating society, but in connection with the management and work of the "Students' Missionary Society" there was ample room for the display of debating talent. This Society, founded in 1839 by a Mr. Andrew Shoolbred of

Dunfermline, a student who died young, but who still lives in this monument of missionary zeal, was formed for the purpose of fostering the missionary spirit amongst the students, and of enabling them to make a contribution to some useful scheme. At first this was done only by means of collecting-cards, but one year an enterprising student, having conducted the prayer-meeting in his neighbourhood on the understanding that the collection would go to the students' scheme, reported a much larger sum than had ever been obtained by the old method. From that time the students agreed to seek the opportunity of pleading the claims of their scheme throughout the churches of the denomination. By this means a sum varying from £1000 to £2000 has been raised annually, and valuable help given at critical times to many a good object both within and without the denominational pale. The great field night of the Society was when the scheme which the students were to advocate throughout the year was chosen. In this highly important debate every man that had speaking power in him had his opportunity of coming to the front. Usually several schemes were proposed and their various claims debated with great keenness and zest, but, the decision once given, the successful scheme was taken up by the whole Hall with as much vigour as if it had been each man's own. In these debates Calderwood from the first took a prominent part, and spoke with such clearness, force, and intensity of conviction that he carried great weight. It was early recognised that that scheme was fortunate that had him as its advocate, and that often he helped to lead it to victory.

Some of the happiest days which the students spent were when they went out two by two in apostolic

fashion to plead the claims of their scheme throughout the churches of the land, and to enjoy the hospitality and social fellowship of the country manses. One such memorable visit was paid to Moat Park Church, Biggar, when the two students, of whom Henry Calderwood was one, were asked to address the annual missionary meeting. On a Monday evening the church was filled to overflowing, and amongst the speakers were such notable men as the late Dr. John Ker and James Robertson of Newington. Yet alongside of even these finished speakers the young men made a creditable appearance and received an attentive hearing. The warmth and enthusiasm of the audience left a memorable impression upon their own souls.

The other great annual meeting of the Society was held towards the close of the session, when the reports of the past year were read, the scheme for the next year announced, and missionary addresses given. This meeting was open to the general public, who attended in large numbers. For that occasion the students chose two of their number to represent them, and selection for this important task was reckoned one of the highest honours the students could bestow. In the last year of the Hall the honour was conferred upon Calderwood in token of the deep interest he had always taken in the work of the Society, and in recognition of the place he had already acquired as a debater and public speaker.

Besides these regular and natural opportunities for acquiring and revealing power in debate, he had others of a more accidental and occasional kind. A specially notable occasion was connected with the visit to Edinburgh of the well-known free-thinker G. J. Holyoake. This was in 1853, when Calderwood had just

entered the Junior Hall. In September of that year large posters appeared in the streets of Edinburgh announcing that George J. Holyoake and Robert le Blond, a deputation from the London Secular Society, would address a meeting on the evening of the 8th inst., in the Calton Convening Rooms, Waterloo Place. The subject announced was "Secularism—the Practical Philosophy of the People"; and intimation was made that at the close of the addresses discussion would be invited. This announcement created great interest in the United Presbyterian Hall, where it was bruited abroad that Mr. Oliver (now Dr. Oliver of Glasgow), a fifth year's student, already noted for his skill as a dialectician, would attack the arch-secularist and attempt to demolish his arguments. On the evening in question the students of the Senior Hall turned up in large numbers, each fortified with a good stout stick for the purpose of giving expression to the feelings, and together with the general public filled the hall to overflowing. Le Blond started the discussion, but turned out to be rather a feeble advocate, indeed little better than a foil for his much abler coadjutor. Holyoake followed, and in a high, somewhat emasculated voice, sought to prove that the highest morality could flourish without religion, and that the principles of secularism if rightly followed would supply motive power for a good, happy, and useful life. He did not directly attack religious belief, but contented himself with representing it as an incubus, deliverance from which would bring joy and health to the human race. One or two speakers followed from amongst the audience, and then Mr. Oliver rose. His advent on the scene was received with acclamation by the students and expectation rose high. He replied to Holyoake's arguments in detail,

and in opposition to the assertion that all religions reposed on morality, declared that, as a matter of fact and of history, all morality rested on religion. He urged that utility could never afford a secure guarantee for morality, and in pressing home this point used the somewhat pertinent illustration: "If I thought it useful to cut off Mr. Holyoake's head, then, on Secularist principles, it would be right for me to do so."

By special favour of the audience Mr. Oliver had been allowed double the stipulated time, which was ten minutes; and after he sat down Holyoake rose to reply. By this time the lecturer's temper was just a little ruffled, and he replied in a somewhat sophistical fashion without grappling with the real difficulty which his young opponent had raised. It was at this point that Calderwood intervened; and, after dwelling upon the fact that Holyoake had not fairly met Oliver's contention, concluded by asking a test question, to which he demanded a clear, categorical answer. The question was: "In the absence of God, the supreme arbiter to determine right and wrong, what was the *basis* of the moral system of Secularism?" This was a poser, and Mr. Holyoake may be forgiven if he found difficulty in giving the required categorical answer, as Utilitarianism has been searching for it all these past centuries. This sally was received with great cheering by the student audience, and the reply was awaited with interest. In the words of one present, "Holyoake evidently felt that he was in the grip of one who was more than his master, for instead of replying he declined to continue the discussion, alleging as a reason the badness of the atmosphere and the lateness of the hour."[1] This method of getting rid of a pertinacious

[1] The hour was ten o'clock.

and awkward questioner met with the loudly expressed disapprobation of the audience, and, matters having taken a turn that Holyoake had not bargained for, he deftly clapped on his head a great white hat, and amid the groans of the students quickly left the hall with Le Blond bringing up the rear. Thus ended a striking scene, which was described in one of the religious papers of the day as "The defeat of the Secularists in Edinburgh."

"Glad to hear," wrote old Dr. John Brown to Calderwood's father, "that Henry last night put to silence the ignorance of a foolish man."

That was certainly how the incident was interpreted by the students; as may be seen from the following quaint extracts from a diary kept by one of their number:—

8th September 1853.

This evening there was a meeting in the Calton Convening Rooms for the purpose of hearing a deputation from the London Secular Society, Geo. L. Holyoake and R. le Blond. Both gentlemen spoke in favour of Secularism, which means worldliness minus all religion whatever. Messrs. Parry, Holland, Calderwood, Bruce, and A. Oliver demolished them so completely that they left as if their noses were bleeding. They are not likely to trouble Edinburgh in a hurry with any of their Utopias.

Friday, 16th September 1853.

After the labours of to-day about one hundred of us sat down to tea in the Hall—by way of mutual congratulation. Hugh Aird, M.A., was called to the chair. D. Pirret asked a blessing. Speeches were then delivered by Mr. Campbell, first year, on "Voluntaryism"; Maclean, on "Self-Knowledge"; Forbes, on "Jamaica"; Tannahill, on "A recent Tour through Europe"; Oliver, on "Modern Infidelity"; Gorrie, on "Christian Worship"; Mr. Calderwood, on the "Voluntary Question." The meeting was a very pleasurable one.

In all other social and religious activities of the Hall Mr. Calderwood was a conspicuous figure. The students' prayer meetings, held for the cultivation of their own spiritual life, found in him a steady and sympathetic supporter.

From the first he identified himself with the Students' Total Abstinence Society, and was most active in advancing its principles. The Temperance movement was then in the first ardour of its early youth, and had yet to convince men of its reasonable and Scriptural character. It needed as much courage at that time for a divinity student to declare himself an abstainer as it would imply to-day for one to say he is not. The movement had not reached the stage of political and legislative action, but confined itself to convincing men of the value of personal abstinence. In this work of propagating Temperance principles the Students' Society took a prominent part, and frequently sent deputations to meetings in town and country to advance the cause. As early as September 1851—that is to say four weeks after entering the Hall—we find Henry Calderwood taking his place on the platform at the soiree of the Students' Total Abstinence Society, along with Dr. Wm. Reid of Lothian Road, who was in the chair, and in September 1854 he and a fellow-student, John King (the late Principal King of Winnipeg), gave the addresses. An interesting story is told with regard to one of his earliest appearances on the Temperance platform :—

Henry Calderwood was secured by the late Rev. David Williamson of Queensferry to address a meeting at Woodend, Abercorn. It was one of his first efforts at public speaking, and it took place in a quiet, out-of-the-way corner. He acquitted himself well, delivering a most convincing speech,

but he personally seemed to think it a failure. However, a lady, Mrs. Bartholomew of Duntarvie, who had been highly pleased with the student's performance, on ascertaining his address, sent into Edinburgh a day or two afterwards a present of butter and eggs. When his mother saw the gift, she exclaimed, "Well, Henry, this is the first wages you ever got." This simple incident the Professor never forgot, it seemed to breathe benediction, for not only did he thank the lady in a note for her appreciation, but he sought to show his gratitude by repeated acts of kindliness to the relatives of the good lady, long after she had passed away.

Perhaps the unjust obloquy thrown upon the Total Abstinence movement at its inception has led many of its advocates to be most intemperate in speech; but even in those days of early youth, and of temptation to give a Roland for an Oliver, Henry Calderwood was distinguished for his considerate treatment of the question. "There was," says one of his fellow-students, "a quiet fervour and yet a perfectly sane presentation of that question before the minds of his fellows that gave his advocacy much influence. He was convinced that in view of the tremendous evil brought upon the country by its drinking customs, it was his duty as a Christian personally to become an abstainer. He never, however, enunciated Total Abstinence as an eleventh commandment, or treated it as universally binding upon every conscience, but from the first respected, as he continued to do throughout life, the liberty claimed by others."

There was still another direction in which he shone in early life. The standard of judgment implied in Dr. Chalmers' question, "Is he a man o' wecht?" is indicated by the impression a student makes upon his fellows, and that after all is a better criterion of worth than the percentage he can take in examinations or the fact that he can preach a clever and well-constructed sermon.

Judged by this highest standard of criticism, Henry Calderwood stood, if not first, at any rate in the very front rank of the students in divinity. "He combined," says one of his fellow-students, "in a rare and remarkable degree the practical and the speculative, and his future career was looked forward to with high expectation, which events fully justified." Another, writing of the impression that he had made when he entered the Hall, declares: "Any one could read in the build of his head, the force of the expression of his features, the slumbrous hidden fire of his eyes and his slightly compressed lips, that behind them lay a tenacity of will and a conscious reserve of power that only waited for their opportunity. His voice was rather thin than deep, but silverine in its ring, and capable of scaling impassioned heights when the occasion required. His speech was always deliberate and distinct, and directed straight to the intended mark. His disposition was genial, and his manner frank and affable." Here is another testimony in the same line: "As a man, a student, and a friend, no one stood so high with the whole circle of the students as Henry Calderwood. He was always accessible, kindly, and considerate, which brought him universal regard. His temper was amazingly equable in almost every kind of circumstance. I do not recollect of his ever being personally put about by anything in his career. He could wax warm enough in defence of a truth or in refuting an argument, but I never knew of anything in which offence showed itself on personal grounds or even any warm expression of feeling. This gave him amongst us an immense respect and esteem. Every one trusted and looked up to Henry Calderwood."

Yet another window exists by which we can see

into his personality at this period, and that is by the friendships formed during those Divinity Hall days. Throughout the session many opportunities were afforded for social fellowship, and friendships were knit then which were destined to last a lifetime. Henry Calderwood was a man of many friends, and of those admitted into the inner circle of his intimacy he never lost one. His father's house in Lauriston Place, and afterwards in Buccleuch Place, was the rendezvous of quite a number of the students ; and the quiet, refined, intellectual, but strongly spiritual invalid mother made it feel like home to more than one of those young men. The bright and happy meetings, the keen discussions, the intellectual trials of strength, all conducted in the best of humour, and in which the father joined, are remembered with gladness to this day.

Some of these young men have risen to high positions in the Church, some have remained faithfully ministering in the quiet of the country ; some have gone to the far places of the earth and have made their home amid the snows of Canada, or under the burning sun of Australia, or beside the swamps of the Calabar River ; but at the time of Dr. Calderwood's death such of them as were alive rejoiced to call him friend. One who has been separated for the greater part of a lifetime by a thousand leagues of sea writes :—

> Of all the friends I ever possessed he was perhaps the nearest and dearest. He was so calm, so true, so uniform, so kindly in every sentiment and action that few could stand by his side. His memory to me is very precious.

Amongst that inner circle of intimates we find such names as—David Cairns, David Sidey (now Dr. Sidey, New Zealand), John King (late Principal King of

Winnipeg), James Black (Dr. Black of Glasgow), David Pirret, Wm. Scott, Robert Johnstone (Professor Johnstone), Zerub Baillie, Alexander Jarvie and several others. I have before me a bundle of old letters which passed in the early fifties between Calderwood and his friends. They reveal the deep spiritual earnestness which pervaded the Hall at that time, when many of the students came up to Edinburgh a week before the session opened that they might meet for prayer in each other's lodgings. In those letters the same devout spirit is manifested. There is not a line in them that might not be published to the world. The hopes, aspirations, and interests of these young men move on a high level, and it is evident that their hearts are set upon nothing less than the highest spiritual ideals. Unfortunately, few of Mr. Calderwood's own letters remain, but the subjects about which these young men wrote with enthusiasm reveal the noble character of their friendship. One young friend writes, 14th July 1848:—

I have often to pause by the way and call myself to a moral examination, and ask God to sanctify and bless me in my studies, that they may not steal away my heart from Himself, and that they may not shut my eyes to the Truth. "What shall it profit a man though he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" Religion is the principal thing, and therefore all other things must only be desired and sought for in subserviency to this.

Here is an extract from a letter which describes the feelings of the writer upon perusal of a speech delivered by the late Principal Cairns at a missionary meeting of Synod:—

The subject was a difficult one, yet there was no flinching, but the bold and undaunted confidence of complete mastery

over his subject. When I got through with it, my heart was throbbing and my whole frame shaking with inward emotion, and I at once asked myself, if such be the case with its perusal, what would have happened under its delivery?

The same friend has been at an ordination, and in the following letter gives an account of the impression received there :—

Dr. Newlands offered up the ordination prayer, which was one of the most comprehensive, pathetic, and overpowering petitions that I ever listened to or took part in. There was something about it that it is impossible to convey to any one who had not the pleasure of hearing it. It contained that deep solemnity, earnestness, energy, and firmness that seemed to speak to every one in the language of Jacob, "I will not let thee go except thou bless me." He wrestled for the cause of divine truth, the glory of God in Christ, the well-being of sinful creatures, the prosperity of Zion, and of this small Zion and him who was placed over it, in such a manner that you would have thought him to be under divine inspiration. In fact the deep feeling which manifestly held possession of the audience and of your own spirit made all look as if we were in a trance.

It would be impossible from these letters for the dullest and least spiritually minded to mistake the spirit which animated Calderwood and his friends; nor could any one fail to recognise how thoroughly their hearts were set upon their future life-work, and how evidently they longed to share in the world's regeneration.

His love of music, combined with religious enthusiasm, is revealed in this old memory, brought forth out of the treasures of the past. One of those old student-friends writes :—

The incident that lives most deeply in my memory in our student days was our going together to hear the oratorio of the "Messiah," sung by Sims Reeves and Madame Grisi and

two other soloists whose names I forget. At that time he was passionately fond of music, as he continued to be, I expect, throughout his life. We found our way to the doors of the Music Hall in Edinburgh, and had to press with the crush to get an entrance. While we were pressing through the lobby of the Hall we had to bear with some badinage from the crowd, as if students ought not to be there. In the course of time and with much effort, we got to one of the cock-lofts in the Music Hall. We had a perfect view of the stage, and heard every note and cadence perfectly. As the work of art proceeded, he and I too, but he especially, got intensely absorbed. Our hearts were filled with wonder. When Madame Grisi came to the passage, "He will lead His flock as a Shepherd," his eyes swam with tears. We often afterwards referred to that oratorio, and especially to that portion of it. I think I hear him expatiating on it now, in a walk we had some little time afterwards, as giving one a profound vision of the character and work of Christ, and of the results of it. He used to say, no commentator nor description could approach giving you such a conception of the subject as the singing of those two vocalists. It meant to both of us a kind of visit to the third heaven, and we never wearied speaking of it.

CHAPTER III

CLOSE OF PERIOD OF PREPARATION

Recess Work—Publication of *Philosophy of the Infinite*—Licentiate—Call to Greyfriars

WHEN the short summer session of the Divinity Hall was over and the students had dispersed to their various spheres of labour, the training for the ministry was by no means suspended. The work laid down by the Professors was taken up by the Presbyteries of the Church. Each student was responsible to the Presbytery within whose bounds he resided, and was called upon every two months or so to pass an examination on prescribed portions of Hebrew and Greek Scripture, Theology, and Church History. In addition, a sermon or lecture had to be delivered before the Reverend Court, and the student found in the multiplicity of critics a new terror. Letters of that time passing between students are full of references to those vacation exercises. Four years after Mr. Calderwood had left the Hall, a student of genius entered it and has left on record in the inimitable letters of a *Scottish Probationer*[1] the fears and perturbations with which the

[1] *Life and Letters of a Scottish Probationer*, by the late Dr. James Brown of Paisley.

youthful mind regarded these intersessional examinations. The student never knew when he might be judged with more than ordinary severity ; and it often happened that when he was trusting to be dealt with lightly, his knowledge would be sifted as wheat. Thus, one of Mr. Calderwood's friends writes in April 1852: "We had Theology and Hebrew, and got a proper twist of it. The Committee met for the special purpose, and seemed to think it binding that they should go through the whole quantum, and through it all they did go."

Even Calderwood himself, with his methodical habits, feels the time of examination coming on with alarming rapidity. In July 1855 he writes: "I have been kept very busy for some time with preparation for the examination of the school, and have got comparatively little done to private work ; and, as you say, the Hall is coming with most alarming speed upon us. I have not yet commenced to my discourse for the Hall, and, in all probability, I will have to preach on the Monday of the second week."

During those five years, in vacation time, he was under the Edinburgh Presbytery, one of the largest in the denomination, and also one of the most thorough in dealing with students. He left the impression of careful and thorough workmanship, and although nothing brilliant is ascribed to him, he is remembered as one who was never found wanting. During the long vacation he was engaged in private tuition, and was also a teacher in the Edinburgh Institution. There he began to reveal a remarkable gift of imparting knowledge. One cannot doubt that the tact, knowledge of human nature and firmness which afterwards made his classes in the University famous for attention and order, were developed by this early training. That

even then he was possessed of something of the power of after years is attested by the following incident. A boy, found altogether unmanageable after having been tried by several masters, was about to be expelled from the school; but, at Calderwood's own request, was handed over to him. All his days, there was in him that expectation of honour which led the Rugby boys to say of Arnold: "You can't tell Arnold a lie: he always trusts!" And this influence the boy in Edinburgh Institution quickly felt. From the most unruly and untruthful boy in the school, he was transformed into one of the best behaved, and the change was wrought, not by the lash, but by patient, firm, and sympathetic dealing. Calderwood used afterwards to say of him that he could trust that boy's word at any time, even when it would tell against himself. Thus early were displayed the power of managing men and that subtle sympathetic instinct which enabled him to put himself alongside his students, and make them feel that he was one of them.

In September 1853, his father, with great regret, left Broughton Place Church, to the senior minister of which, Dr. John Brown, he was deeply attached, and joined Rose Street congregation, which was then ministered to by Dr. Finlayson.

The immediate cause of the severance was a question of Church discipline, in regard to which he disagreed with the majority of the Session, over which Dr. Andrew Thomson presided, and thus an interesting and valuable Church connection was brought to a close. Dr. Finlayson, the minister of Rose Street, was then at the height of his popularity, and his church, which the Calderwoods now joined, afforded abundant scope for earnest Christian work. A young man, laden with his

preparation for the ministry in addition to his work as a teacher, and engaged at the same time in hard philosophical research, might well have excused himself from taking further share in Christian work.

It was never, however, the characteristic of Henry Calderwood to save himself, but, wherever he found work to do, he threw himself into it with all his might. In Rose Street Church he had a Bible class for young women, some of whom are living at the present time, and cherish grateful and sacred memories of his teaching. In this, as in everything he did, all his methods were thorough. There was first a short introductory address upon a question in the Shorter Catechism, and every member was asked to write out what she remembered of the subject and hand it in on the following Sunday. These papers were all carefully read, and returned with remarks of appreciation or criticism written upon each, while, at the same time, many practical suggestions were added which were found most helpful by the scholars. The second course of lessons was upon "The Scriptural View of the Christian Life." I am favoured by one of the former members of this class with a syllabus, which is interesting as revealing his methods, and also, to some extent, his spiritual attitude:—

SCRIPTURAL VIEW OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

1. *Dangers of the Christian Life*

"Be not conformed to the world."
"Be not weary in well-doing."
"Despise not the chastening of the Lord."
"Grieve not the Holy Spirit."

2. *Duties*

"Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ."
"Walk by Faith."

"Search the Scriptures."
"Enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut the door, pray to thy Father."
"Pray without ceasing."
"Remember the Sabbath Day," etc.
"As we have opportunity, let us do good unto all."
"Do all to the glory of God."
"Examine yourselves, and prove your own selves."
"Prepare to meet thy God."

3. *Joys*

"Rejoice in the Lord alway."
"Rejoice in the Truth."
"Rejoice with them that do rejoice."
"Rejoice in the hope of the glory of God."

The lady from whom I have received the syllabus has favoured me with a short description of the class itself, and of the influence for good which she knows it has exerted.

How often does my memory go back to that time! I am sure not one in that class could ever forget that back seat and its most hallowed associations. Dr. Black had been our previous teacher; but, on being licensed, had to give it up, and Dr. Calderwood succeeded. This was, I think, in September 1853. From the very first his personal interest in every one was seen, and how he used every means in his power to win their souls for Christ and train them for His service. He asked liberty from the Session to get the Session House for the use of his class, so as to have more privacy in speaking to them; but this was denied. Then he took them up to his study in his father's house, and I know that his personal dealing with them on these occasions was looked back upon by many as their birthplace, spiritually. I, for one, will never forget these meetings. The influence of them has been with me during all the past years, and the hymn, "I once was a stranger to grace and to God," which

he repeated at the close of our last meeting with him, still rings in my ears. I never sing it, or hear it sung, without heart-throbbing. Our class was broken up on the 30th December 1855. Several have joined the "great majority"; all are scattered; but I am certain there were not many sorer hearts than those three members of his class who attended the Professor's funeral service in Morningside Church.

You who know how earnestly and impressively Dr. Calderwood spoke can imagine how those Scripture lessons would come home to our young hearts. I often speak of them to my children, and tell them that I never forget to bless the time when I was under the spiritual care of such a teacher,—such a privilege and such a responsibility. But such lessons are never lost, and who can tell when and where the result will end?

A letter to a friend, written when he took farewell of his class, indicates that the interest was mutual, and that he had aimed at nothing less than winning all its members for Christ.

10th January 1855.

I have now taken leave of my Sabbath class, which I did with feelings of very considerable sadness. I rejoice, however, that four of them are now members of the Church, and another will join at the next Communion; and, I hope, not without reason I think, yet to see some fruit in the case of two out of the remaining three. They have given me a most handsome present as a memorial of our meetings—Bagster's pocket Edition of the English Version of the Polyglot Bible, with Dr. Eadie's Analytical Concordance, beautifully bound in Russian. Coming as it did from a class of only eight in number, it took me altogether by surprise, for its value. I feel it to be a token of regard, affording me much gratification.

An incident comes down from that time, revealing how even then his religion was entirely a part of himself. Travelling one day by train, he found himself

in the same carriage with some workmen, who were discussing their grievances. It was in the early fifties, when the lot of the working man was not so good as it is to-day, and when trade-unionism was beginning to show signs of increased activity. One of the men in the compartment gave voice to the grievances of the others by exclaiming, "We are a God-forgotten set," when suddenly Henry Calderwood intervened with the remark: "*Man-forgotten* you may be; but *God-forgotten* you are not!" and lifted the conversation to a higher level. The interruption was made with such tact and kindliness that, so far from resenting it, the workman shook him warmly by the hand on leaving, and thanked him for what he had said. He was ever careful not to obtrude his religion obnoxiously upon any one; but an incident like this shows how skilfully he could seize the right opportunity when it came.

In September 1854, just at the close of the fourth session at the Hall, Mr. Calderwood published his book on the *Philosophy of the Infinite.* He was then twenty-four years of age; and, for sheer courage, apart from all else, the production was notable. The philosophical aspect of this work will be dealt with in its proper place by one specially fitted to perform the task, but one or two points fall to be recorded here. Mr. Calderwood had been working at this book for years, and in the first instance contemplated the publication of a work on Philosophy as a whole. In fact, he actually had such a comprehensive work in manuscript, and read over to a friend a treatise, which, in conjunction with his other work, must have proved a Herculean task. On reflection, however, and after discussing the matter with his friend, he wisely determined to limit himself to one point, viz., the examination of Sir

William Hamilton's position with regard to man's knowledge of the Infinite. The great philosopher was then at the height of his power and influence, and the young divinity student might well have felt some trepidation as he entered the lists against such a renowned champion. That he did so may be gathered from the following letter, which he sent with a copy of his work to his former Professor :—

EDINBURGH, 18*th September* 1854.

HONOURED SIR—You may by this time be aware that I have for some time been engaged upon a work on the Philosophy of the Infinite. Indebted as I was to you for first turning my mind with decided interest to the study of speculative subjects, I have continued my course with increasing zest in the path upon which I had set out. I have devoted much of my time, since I left the University, to the study of philosophical subjects, especially to the careful and repeated perusal of your valuable additions to the philosophical literature of Scotland, and to a searching analysis of my own consciousness. In these studies, I have not hesitated to proceed with that independence of thought which it has ever been your honour to inculcate and cherish. In the course of my speculations and investigations, I know not from what cause,—perhaps its affinity to other points of study coming under my notice,—I have given special attention to the question of our knowledge of the Infinite. The first article in the "Discussions" has afforded to me matter of greater interest and more searching study than any other philosophical production in our language. The result of this study has been conclusions differing widely from those stated and defended in the article to which I have referred; and, although this is a result which I contemplate with uneasiness, I have resolved to publish my observations for your consideration and the consideration of the increasing number in Great Britain who are interested in the progress of Philosophy. This work is now completed and published, your acceptance of the accompanying copy of which will be esteemed a favour.

I trust that you will find in it, in reference to yourself personally, nothing but that respect which you are so entitled to look for from one who has been indebted to your prelections; and, in response to your doctrines, that clearness of apprehension and fairness of statement which are so essential in the discussion of such questions.—Yours sincerely,

HENRY CALDERWOOD.

This letter drew forth a reply from Sir William, which was as kindly and considerate as the original had been courteous. The great philosopher submits several of the arguments in the book to searching criticism, and makes it clear that his own views on the subject have not changed.

In the opening part of the letter he writes:—

I received a few days ago your *Philosophy of the Infinite*, and beg leave to return you my best thanks, both for the present of the book itself, and for the courteous manner in which my opinions are therein controverted. The ingenuity with which your views are maintained does great credit to your metaphysical ability; and, however I may differ from them, it gives me great satisfaction to recognise the independence of thought by which they are distinguished, and to acknowledge the candid spirit in which you have written.

To Sir William's letter Mr. Calderwood sent the following reply:—

28th September 1854.

I have just received your communication, and have to thank you for the careful and candid perusal of the book which I have published. It is a personal gratification to me to know that you are pleased with the manner in which I have written. I certainly could never have thought of writing otherwise than with the utmost courtesy. Although I have perused the arguments which you have been kind enough to submit to my consideration, I have not given them that careful study which I intend they shall receive. At the

same time, from what I have seen of them, I do not expect that they will materially alter my conviction, so that I must still be permitted to occupy the position which I have taken up.

I am sorry if in anything I have either misunderstood or misrepresented your opinions; I need not say that if this be the case, it is altogether unintentional; and, should the work see a second edition, I will be careful to rectify any such mistake.

I consider the main point in dispute to be: Whether the Infinite, as an objective reality, may exist in relation; and, if this be the case, whether it may not in this relation be known. Admitting (as I do) that the sphere of belief is much wider than that of knowledge, is it not nevertheless true that the object of belief and of knowledge is one and the same?

I shall, however, continue my study of the question all the more advantageously on account of the arguments which you have presented.—With best thanks for your kindness, believe me, my dear Sir William, yours very sincerely,

HENRY CALDERWOOD.

In this correspondence, as well as in the book itself, there are indications that the subject possessed for Mr. Calderwood more than philosophical interest, and that the explanation of his entering the field at so early an age against such a redoubtable antagonist is to be found in his religious earnestness. The question at issue, while mainly philosophical, has religious bearings. Sir William Hamilton's "Absolute" and "Infinite," when translated into the language of religion, become "God." This both he and Calderwood clearly recognise. In his letter Hamilton writes: "I maintain that an infinite God cannot be by us (positively) comprehended," while he believes that God, as Infinite, may very properly be the object of faith. It was against this unnatural separation between faith and knowledge that Calderwood so strenuously contended. He himself was compelled by the very

structure of his mind to find common ground for faith and knowledge. Their divorce, which has commended itself to some of the ablest, as well as most religious minds, was to him singularly obnoxious; and in the *Philosophy of the Infinite* he felt compelled to sound a strong, clear note of warning against it. The publication of the *Philosophy of the Infinite* created considerable interest in the philosophical world, arising not alone from the merits of the work itself, but from the youth and courage of the author. Amongst his fellow-students the work was hailed with acclamation, and all felt proud of the honour which the event conferred upon the Hall. Of the students of that day, several had already entered the field of literature, but none had produced a work that had created the same amount of interest or was so widely talked of.

Criticisms on the work were by no means universally favourable. The *Scotsman* appeared with a slashing review, but several journals of equal standing spoke of it in the highest terms. The *North British Review* wrote: "It is the most independent metaphysical essay we have read for a long time, and this freedom is united to an acuteness which justifies high expectations from the future efforts of a writer, who, in this his first work, has done so well." Again, the *British Quarterly Review* said: "Sir William is not so enamoured of any speculation as not willingly to surrender it when its untenableness has been fully evinced; and, unless we are greatly mistaken, this work of Mr. Calderwood furnishes abundant reasons for the modification, if not the abandonment, of some positions taken by Sir William Hamilton in his *Philosophy of the Infinite and the Absolute*."

A second edition of the work was published in

1858, when Mr. Calderwood was minister of Greyfriars, Glasgow, and after Dean Mansel had published his *Bampton Lectures on the Limits of Religious Thought.* The new edition, although formed upon the lines of the first, was so revised as to make it practically a new work. In the interval, he had profited by all the criticisms received; and in the second edition produced a book much more difficult to answer and more mature in treatment.

Through this work he became widely known, not only throughout Scotland and England, but in America and on the Continent. Samuel Tyler of America declared that the *Philosophy of the Infinite* had gained for Mr. Calderwood in that country "a high place amongst thinkers." Prof. Ebrard of Erlangen writes: "I am persuaded that your eminent work will yet mark a decisive epoch in the annals of Scottish and English Philosophy." Prof. Erdman, the philosopher of Halle, while rejecting the fundamental principles of Hamilton, Mansel, and Calderwood alike, asserts that Mr. Calderwood has strikingly proved the untenableness of such a separation between faith and knowledge as is maintained by Sir W. Hamilton, and especially by Dean Mansel.

Probably it is with this first work, more than with any later book, that his name will be most permanently identified.

A year after the publication of the *Philosophy of the Infinite*, the long period of preparation for the ministry came to an end. Few men could have crowded into those early years the amount of work which, in spite of original delicacy of health, he had accomplished. During these five years he had been on the staff of the Edinburgh Institution, and had already given a

hint of his powers as a teacher. He had taken a full share of religious work in the congregation to which he belonged, and at the same time manifested the deepest interest in all the religious and social movements of the students. He had carefully cultivated the gift of extempore speaking, so that already he was an effective and accomplished debater. He was always prepared with his class work, and never failed to make a creditable appearance in examinations, and yet, in addition to all this, he found time to give himself to hard philosophical study and to produce a work of such merit as to attract the interest of the leading philosophers of the day.

Amidst these many and varied pursuits, the great ends of the Christian ministry were never for a moment forgotten, nor allowed to occupy a secondary place. A letter written to a friend just after he had closed his studies at the Hall reveals the spirit in which he was looking forward to his life-work :—

15th November 1855.

The great point with us, however, will be not so much to make progress in study; for I think that may be easily secured; but to maintain a high degree of piety in our own souls. While others are depending upon us for direction and are ready to take their measure from what they find in us, there will be a danger of our coming down to what is common with them. They are mingling every day with the bustle of the world, and are apt to absorb some of the spirit of the world,—using that term in its worst sense. We are mingling every day with the things of the Spirit: it is for us to see that we secure a spiritual frame of mind and endeavour to nourish and sustain the spiritual life in others. One thing which it seems to me will try us more is the want of opportunities of meeting with, and being stimulated by each other One consolation there is, and it is more than sufficient—

communion with God is open to us at all times; and if we but maintain that, we shall find strength for our work.

On the 2nd of January 1856 he was duly licensed by Edinburgh Presbytery to "preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to exercise his gifts as a probationer of the United Presbyterian Church." Along with him eight other young men were solemnly set apart for this sacred work. Of these, one went to England, one to Canada, another to Australia. Not one is living to-day, but all have joined with him the General Assembly of the Church of the First-born.

There was an old custom in the Secession Church that the young licentiate should make his first public appearance in the pulpit of the congregation to which he belonged. This was a trying ordeal under any circumstances, but especially so in a large and influential city congregation. The Sabbath after license, young Mr. Calderwood appeared in Rose Street pulpit, one of the oldest, and at that time one of the strongest congregations in the denomination. His relations and friends were all there save one, the invalid mother; and she sat at home bearing him up on the wings of faith and prayer. His father was asked by a friend the next day: "Were you not afraid he would stick?" "Oh no!" was the reply: "I never thought of that, for, while he was preaching, I knew his mother was at home praying."

Fully equipped for the ministry and licensed to preach the Gospel, the probationer must patiently wait until he receives a call from a vacant congregation. He is prevented by his vows from lifting a finger to bring about this desirable consummation. The arrangement that prevails in the United Presbyterian Church with regard to the distribution of probationers is, from

a democratic standpoint, perfect. The licentiate's name is taken charge of by a Committee of Synod; and, from that time onwards, he is simply a soldier under marching orders. They say to him: "Go, and he goeth; Do this, and he doeth it." He does not apply to be heard in some particularly pleasant vacancy, and he cannot refuse to preach to a congregation whose call, if it came, he might not think of accepting.

The only break in the almost arbitrary power of the Committee lies in the fact that, if a congregation desire to hear a particular probationer it can apply to the Committee; and, within certain limits, the request will be granted.

A short term of one or two years on the probationers' list is not without special value. It gives a man time for general reading, which, in the pressure of technical studies, he has probably been denied; and affords an opportunity also of maturing his views and methods before plunging into the hard, practical work of the ministry. In travelling up and down the country an experience of human nature may be obtained which will help to prepare the student-recluse for his future position as a man of affairs. On the other hand, long before the full term of six years has elapsed, the probationer often loses heart and becomes a soured and disappointed man. To pass through the experience of unsuccessful probationership and keep the armour of the soul unsullied is to win a greater victory than he that taketh a city. Mr. Calderwood's term of probationership was all too short, but it was impossible for him to know that at its beginning. Some of the most brilliant scholars have failed to catch the popular vote; and some, who have afterwards attained a position of eminence as preachers, have gone for years without

being called. That Henry Calderwood carried the controlling power of Christ into the outlook from the preachers' list is manifest from the following letter written at that time. The unwholesome rivalries and jealousies, so apt to find a place in many a heart, had no influence upon him.

EDINBURGH, 17*th March* 1856.

I hear that A—— has been proclaiming his prospects, at least that he had been doing so in the manse of Blairlogie to the following effect—that he was sure to be asked to more vacancies than any other preacher; it must be so, of *necessity*, for he was much better known, and he says he is sure of a call to Jedburgh at least. *Sic* from A——! I desire to keep my mind very easy about the prospects, in the assurance that each man gets the place appointed for him, and I do not feel specially anxious as to where my place will be. I am ready to go wherever the path of duty seems to lead: it is in the Lord's hand to settle the bounds of our habitation; and, if I have only a sphere in which I am made useful, I am content.

When not engaged fulfilling preaching appointments, he generously assisted his own congregation, Rose Street, in the absence through illness of its minister.

17*th March* 1856.

Mr. Finlayson has been laid aside for nearly two months, and a good deal of work has fallen upon us juniors during the interregnum. I have had the female class all the while, a company of about seventy young ladies. Mr. Rankine, Mr. Baillie, and I have had the prayer meeting between us, and we have a good deal in the way of speaking at soirees and such meetings.

A curious difficulty in connection with an Edinburgh vacancy is referred to in the following extract:—

Then there is a vacancy in Edinburgh at present, the consequence of which is that, wherever I have been preaching

in town, I have always been informed that some of the James' Place people were there; and you see the natural result, I have already had to preach ten sermons in Edinburgh, and every time a new sermon.

This vacancy was afterwards assigned to him, but we can scarcely be surprised that, since he had written his sermons under such pressure, he was not called. Few other vacancies came in his way; for, before he had been more than a month or two on the list, he was, at the request of the congregation, sent to Greyfriars, Glasgow, and there made such a deep impression that he was called to be its pastor. Thus, his all too short term of probationership came to an end in July 1856, and he passed almost at once from the period of preparation into the full responsibilities of a large and important city pastorate.

The congregation of Greyfriars, Glasgow, was one of the oldest, largest, and most influential in the denomination. To accept a call to such a church without any previous ministerial experience was even a greater act of courage than to write the *Philosophy of the Infinite*. Its history went back to the beginning of the Secession itself. It was formed out of a number of praying societies in Glasgow and neighbourhood, which, in common with many similar meetings throughout the country, had sprung up when evangelical life was at a low ebb in the State Church. When the Four Brethren, under the leadership of Ebenezer Erskine, seceded from the National Church, the Glasgow Correspondent (the name given to a group of praying societies) resolved to throw in its lot with them.

The congregation at first worshipped in a tent, which was moved about from place to place on the outskirts of the city; and when the tent could not hold

the worshippers, they met under the open canopy of heaven. The first settled habitation for this somewhat primitive erection was at "Corsehill," now Crosshill, one of the southern suburbs of the city. Hither the first minister, the Rev. James Fisher of Kinclaven, one of the original Four Brethren, and son-in-law of Ebenezer Erskine, was called. Shortly after his induction, the congregation removed from the outskirts of the city and erected their tent in Hopetoun Place, to the north of the once famous Rottenrow. Here they meant to build a church, but a still more suitable site being found in Shuttle Street, they erected there the building in which they worshipped for nearly eighty years. Yet another change of site was made ere they found themselves in the church in which Henry Calderwood preached, and where the congregation remains until this day. In 1820 the old building in Shuttle Street having become too small, a site for a new church was acquired in North Albion Street, upon ground which was once part of the old monastery of Greyfriars. The congregation entered their new building on the 18th November 1821, and henceforth the "Associate Congregation of Shuttle Street" went under the name of Greyfriars. That structure still stands in the very heart of the city, surrounded now, for the most part, by public buildings, warehouses, and shops; but within its walls there still gathers a large and effective congregation.

During the 115 years that had elapsed between the origin of the congregation and the call of Henry Calderwood, there had been five ministers, all of them men of culture and ability. Two of the number, the Rev. James Fisher and Dr. Dick, had been theological professors in the Secession Hall, and the last minister, Dr. King, by whose resignation on account of ill-health

the church had become vacant, had been a great force in Glasgow, both in the pulpit and on the platform. When he was inducted in 1833 the tide of congregational prosperity had begun to recede; but, by the splendour of his eloquence and vigorous, energetic labour, he brought the church back to what it had been in its best days. For a young and untried man to be called as minister of such a congregation was a signal honour and mark of confidence, but brought all the more solemn responsibility. That Mr. Calderwood regarded the matter in this light, may be seen from the following letter announcing the result of the election :—

20th May 1856.

I am not sure whether you get the *Scottish Press;* if you do, you will by this time have seen the result; if not, here it is. The Rev. Mr. Cairns of Berwick and I were proposed, when 51 voted for Mr. Cairns,[1] and 234 for me. The Rev. Dr. Robertson of Shamrock Street and the Rev. Mr. Rutherford of Newlands were also nominated, but neither obtained a seconder. After the vote was taken, 234 signed the call, and the paper for adherents was signed by 51. Among those who signed the call were a good number who had voted otherwise. Of the Session, 19 signed my call last night, and all others intend to do so with one exception; at least, it is doubtful what he may do: he voted for Mr. Cairns. Such is the result, and now that the call is out, it has sobered me very considerably, since it rests with me now to decide.

The call went through the usual course, and Mr. Calderwood, after anxious and prayerful consideration, intimated to the Session of Greyfriars on 3rd July 1856 his intention of accepting it. From that moment his eyes were turned towards Glasgow. The long time of preparation had at length come to an end, and, with

[1] Mr. Cairns was previously called unanimously, and declined.

reliance upon God, he now entered upon his life-work. His first settlement was in one of the high places of the field, and success or failure there would make him a marked man. The task before him was difficult. He was succeeding a noted pulpit and platform orator. The city in its rapid growth was quickly receding from this old and central church, and the difficulty of maintaining the congregation from new quarters and by fresh methods would have to be faced. The prospect would have appalled many a man, and the reality tested him to the inmost fibre. Before he left Glasgow he had shown of what stuff he was made, and had left upon the city an impression which was nothing less than remarkable, and is by no means forgotten even after the lapse of over thirty years.

CHAPTER IV

MINISTRY IN GREYFRIARS, GLASGOW

Ordination—Marriage—Difficulties in congregation—Interest in Home Mission work—New departures—Power over the young—Personal dealing—Ministry of consolation.

ROUND the opening stages of a youthful ministry many high hopes and expectations gather. In no other profession and at no other time is the proverb so applicable: "Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off." There may have been divisions in the congregation with regard to the settlement, but when the ordination day comes, these are for the moment forgotten. Nothing but good is said about the young man, and every one cherishes the best hopes regarding his future. More than ordinary interest attached to the settlement of Henry Calderwood in Greyfriars. There was a touch of romance about this young man of twenty-six undertaking without any previous ministerial experience the work of one of the oldest and most important charges in Glasgow. The fame of his book had gone before him, and tradition declares that many of the Greyfriars people set themselves to read this work by their new minister, but that most of them found it such a hard nut to crack that they gave it up in

despair. Nevertheless, its very depth and obscurity to some extent enhanced his reputation. It was not every man that could write a book which people could not understand!

When the ordination day came, 16th September 1856, the large church was full to overflowing, though the day was Thursday, and the hour two o'clock in the afternoon. A warm welcome was given to the young minister by the members as they left the church.

At the ordination dinner given to the Presbytery, David Anderson, Esq., was in the chair, flanked right and left by such well-known citizens as Lord Provost Orr; John Henderson, Esq., of Park; H. E. Crum-Ewing, Esq., of Strathleven; with Sir James Anderson, M.P., as Vice-Chairman.

The young minister may well have felt a thrill of pride, as well as a grave sense of responsibility, as he faced the magnificent audience that filled the City Hall of Glasgow in the evening. A newspaper critic describes the appearance of Mr. Calderwood as "modest, tasteful, and prepossessing," and continues: "We do not doubt that the same singular success which attended his predecessors in the sacred office in Greyfriars will shed its sunshine over his path."

Another of the daily papers wrote: "The eyes of many will be turned to Mr. Calderwood, and we have no doubt but he will vindicate the propriety of the choice of the people."

On the Sabbath following, a crowded congregation gathered within the walls of the old building to hear the young minister preach his first sermon. He gave the key-note to his ministry in the text: "We preach

not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake." No text could have more aptly described the aim and character of the ministry just begun.

Notwithstanding the enthusiasm natural to the opening of a promising ministry, the charge which Mr. Calderwood had undertaken presented many special difficulties. In a country congregation the members have grown up within its walls. They are there because their fathers were before them. Preachers may come and go, but the congregation abides. It is far otherwise in a city. A large part of the membership of Greyfriars, including many of its leading men, had been gathered in by the unique eloquence of Dr. King. How far a young preacher of a totally different cast would be able to retain them, or at any rate make up for any leakage by attracting others in sufficient numbers, lay yet amongst the uncertainties of the future.

In addition to this difficulty inherent in the situation, others of a more special kind had to be surmounted. Beneath the surface a good deal of unrest existed in the congregation. The long vacancy between the demission of Dr. King and Mr. Calderwood's settlement had not been without friction. A very hearty and unanimous call had been given to the Rev. John Cairns of Berwick, which he declined; after which differences of opinion, giving rise to much keenness of feeling, occurred. The effect of these divisions had not wholly passed away when Mr. Calderwood came, and in part explained the opinion, freely expressed by not a few, that a probationer was not equal to the task of ministering to such a large and important congregation. It was patent

to every one that only Herculean labours would enable a young man with no previous work to fall back upon, to write two new sermons every week, prepare for prayer meeting and Bible class, visit pastorally nearly a thousand members, and at the same time preside over, and, if possible, quicken into strong life, the manifold organisations which Greyfriars even at that day possessed. Moreover, by 1856 Glasgow was extending so rapidly that the central position of the church, which had long been a source of strength, was fast becoming a cause of weakness. Both West and South, suburban congregations had been started and were now being ministered to by able and attractive preachers, who themselves had been the choice of many in Greyfriars. The young minister of the Central Church must be prepared for a steady drain upon his resources, and would require to aim at maintaining the congregation from the less wealthy classes in the immediate neighbourhood. Mr. Calderwood foresaw these difficulties, and as one who was long a fellow-worker remarks, "He set his face like a flint" to meet them, and by the grace of God he was able to give more than a good account of himself.

Early in his ministerial life, he took a step that could not but be fraught with the greatest influence upon his future career. In March 1857 he was married to Anne Hutton Leadbetter, the daughter of Thomas Leadbetter, Esq., of Alderbank, Bothwell. Previously the family had been connected with the old Relief congregation of Anderston, Glasgow. Thus in husband and wife the union of Relief and Secession Churches was repeated.

Mrs. Calderwood brought with her as her marriage dowry the strongest sympathy with every department

of his work, and the earnest desire to be used with him for the social and religious good of their people. During the first year of their married life, the minister and his wife cheered all the workers by appearing at their social gatherings. New life was imparted to congregational work. At their home in Mansfield Place, and afterwards in St. Vincent Street, they welcomed the young people of the church. Many now past mid-life recall with thankfulness the bright and happy gatherings at which both the minister and his wife made every effort to put each one at ease. A lady remembers one such gathering, at which a number of young girls were present, all feeling at first very stiff and awkward, when to their surprise the minister started the popular song then ringing in the streets of Glasgow, "Paddle your own Canoe," and immediately every one felt at home, and became eager to contribute to the evening's entertainment. Unfortunately, after the first year of married life, Mrs. Calderwood's activity was seriously impaired by illness, and she was no longer able to go about freely. Yet she did not lose any of her interest in her husband's work, and proved herself a life-long friend and counsellor. During the most troubled period of his ministry he found in his home-life a blessed oasis, from which he went forth strengthened to meet trial and difficulty. Probably the strongest part of his armour for the battle of life, with the exception of his faith in God, was his wife's love and devotion. On the other hand, nothing could exceed the tenderness and chivalry with which he watched over her throughout years of indifferent health. As an old and tried servant said after he was gone: "He wadna' let the wind blaw on her."

Towards the beginning of his ministry he estab-

lished the habit of early rising, and undertook the most rigid regulation of his time. It was a hard fight at first, but, having once begun, he never gave it up. Summer and winter until the end of his life he rose at 6 A.M. At first, he fortified himself with a cup of coffee, but in a short time that was dispensed with, and his first meal was eight o'clock breakfast. One thing he insisted upon, and that was punctuality—the servant who could not be punctual would not be long in his house. The forenoon was given to reading and study, the afternoon to pastoral and sick visitation. After dinner, an hour and a half was spent in music, conversation, and light reading, and then for four or five evenings every week he was out at public meetings. By this strict, methodical use of his time, he accomplished an immense amount of work. Throughout life he was a great advocate for early rising, and contended that one hour in the morning was worth two at night. At the same time he acquired the habit of thinking out his sermons in the streets, and would often stop at night under a lamp-post and make a jotting, which would recall, when he got home, the results of a train of thought. He often said that he found these jottings of the greatest value.

It is difficult to obtain an accurate description of his preaching in those early years. While effective and impressive, it possessed little of the art of the orator, except that of clear and distinct speaking. He wrote his sermons out carefully in full, and then delivered them from memory, although not verbatim. His manner was more energetic and intense than in later days, when it became calm, dignified, and reflective. In the pulpit he was pre-eminently a teacher, and sought to reach the conscience through the intellect

rather than the feelings. While preaching he looked his audience straight in the face, and controlled them more by the eye than by any liveliness of gesture ; yet, as one has said, "You could not help listening." In subject-matter his sermons were distinctly evangelical, and many a fervent and earnest appeal was made to his hearers to accept eternal life. One sermon in particular has been remembered across the years. It was delivered amidst the hushed stillness of a large congregation, with unusual signs of deep emotion, which communicated itself to the audience. The text was, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" Many felt that they were led that day into the Holy of Holies of the mystery of Christ's sufferings ; and several speak of it even yet, but no one outside of his own home knew how strongly his own soul had been touched and how profoundly he had realised, while composing it, the darkness and suffering through which our Saviour passed. His own heavy trials during the earlier part of his ministry doubtless enabled him to have fellowship with Christ in His sufferings. Once again he delivered the sermon when away from home, but the peculiar power had vanished, and he never gave it a third time.

His prayer-meeting addresses also were specially remembered, and were fully as much appreciated as the Sabbath services. During the earlier years of his ministry in particular there was quite a rush to the prayer meeting, and many drove considerable distances to be present. He there delivered the series of discourses on the parables which were afterwards given on Sabbath evenings in Morningside Church, Edinburgh ; and then published, with a dedication to the

minister, elders, managers, and members of Greyfriars congregation. An idea of the impressiveness of his early manner may be gathered from the following description of a Communion in the country at which he assisted :—

> He once assisted me at a Communion at Auchtermuchty, when his services were peculiarly influential for good. There was such a sweetness in his manner and a quiet persuasiveness in his words on that occasion, which I never knew excelled. The little church was a veritable banqueting-house. The effect of the service remained for many days. The service was referred to by some truly intellectual and saintly, although humble persons, as a day of great gladness, and in this I felt exactly as my people did. I had heard him only on a few occasions, but at no time did I ever feel such power accompanying his words as on that occasion. The man and the message were of one type. His features and person were sweet and kindly and lofty, somewhat resembling pictures of Jonathan Edwards, and the effect of his ministrations was most distinctive and delightful.

In 1858 he passed through what was undoubtedly one of the great trials of his ministry,—if not, indeed, of his life. Towards the close of 1857 Dr. King had so far recovered from his nervous breakdown which led to his resignation that a movement was set on foot amongst a section of the congregation to have him back in the active pastorate of the church. The relation which Dr. King held to Greyfriars after his resignation is somewhat difficult to define. It is now exactly expressed by the term *minister emeritus ;* but in those days ecclesiastical procedure had not yet coined that word, and knew nothing of it. That relationship implies that a minister has no active responsibility, either in the work or supervision of a congregation, but still maintains a nominal connection,

so far as a seat in Presbytery and Synod is concerned. This is exactly what Dr. King desired to express in the letter to the congregation of January 1855, intimating his intention to resign. In that letter he stated that, in order to give the congregation a freer hand in calling a minister, he had decided to retire; but expressed a wish to retain his seat in Presbytery and Synod. In his letter to the Presbytery he was still more explicit. "The pastor chosen," he then said, "will be told that my retirement is absolute, so far as interference with him is concerned, that in the pulpit and in the Session and everywhere else he will officiate as sole pastor."

These were the arrangements made when Dr. John Cairns of Berwick was called, and no alteration was afterwards made. That Mr. Calderwood laid great stress upon the conditions under which he could accept the call to Greyfriars is seen from the fact that, when a deputation from the Session came through to Edinburgh to see him, he asked if it was as colleague or as sole pastor he was called; for, if it were as colleague, he would not consider the matter. The reply was that he was asked to come as sole pastor.

Those who, out of admiration for their late minister, desired to have him back in the active pastorate of Greyfriars, possibly did not realise the complications to which this step would lead. That it brought a disturbing element into the congregation and gave Mr. Calderwood great concern is evident. He had made his position perfectly clear when he was called, and he was not the man to depart from it from fear of consequences. When one of the leaders of the movement asked him if there were no way by which the congregation could once more secure the services of Dr. King, he replied, "Oh yes, there is one way in which it can

be done. I can go to the Presbytery and resign my charge ; and then you can call Dr. King back."

It was the same movement which led a deputation to appear before the Session in June 1858, in support of a memorial signed by forty members, requesting that steps be taken to secure more frequently the services of Dr. King. In the Presbyterian Church, pulpit arrangements are usually left in the hands of the minister, and the Session properly declared this matter outwith their province and placed the petition in the hands of the minister. Mr. Calderwood then stated that if it were the desire of the Session or the congregation that he should resign his pastorate, he was willing to do so ; but the suggestion was not for a moment entertained.

Dr. King, it was thought, knew nothing of this movement, and at Mr. Calderwood's request frequently officiated in Greyfriars, delighting his old admirers by the splendour of his eloquence and his renewed pulpit power.

The unrest created by this agitation caused the young minister deep anxiety, and tested his prudence and tact in the highest degree. For the next two years there was a heavy drain to one or two suburban churches, but the loss was more than made up by the inflow of new members. The splendid courage which he showed in facing these additional difficulties did not a little to establish him firmly in the affections and regard of the congregation ; and the truly Christian attitude which he showed towards those who left Greyfriars won the admiration of all. Whenever he happened to meet any of these members he greeted them in the same frank and friendly way as if they had remained, and never displayed the smallest animus

towards any of those who took part in a movement which, if successful, would have involved his resignation.

In the midst of this great trouble, a very sad affliction, making the darkness deeper, fell upon his home. The first-born child was taken, after a brief life of three months, but not before she had endeared herself to both father and mother. In after-life he referred to the death of this little one in a way that showed how much the bereavement had added to the other trials. At the same time, Mrs. Calderwood fell ill and continued more or less of an invalid for years, so that from 1858 to 1860 may be said to have been the darkest and most trying period of his life.

Writing to a friend in July 1859, he says:—

> Our Heavenly Father has been calling us to pass through much affliction for some time, and whenever we have begun to cheer ourselves with the thought that the clouds were passing away, they have gathered again and settled down upon us with the darkness which we had imagined was past.

After expressing the hope that certain measures would prove effective in restoring Mrs. Calderwood to health, he continues:—

> Still concerning the past, the present, and the future, the truth is the same: the Lord doeth *all things* well; and the lesson for us is one—submission to a gracious God. We feel, therefore, how important it is not to fix our minds too strongly on the fulfilment in the future of the desires which we cherish.
>
> In God's discipline there is much *teaching by adversity*, and now I think we are both ready to say that we have been learning what we could not have learned otherwise, and that, in the future, we shall be the more able to glorify God and do good in the circle of influence which our Father has marked off for us. May He give us grace to bear with us

the solemn sense of responsibility which He has been impressing upon our mind by the afflictions He has been laying upon us.

Doubtless, it was those searching experiences that helped to make him pre-eminently a minister of consolation. In after years he wrote as few letters as possible ; but there was one kind of letter he never failed to send, and that was a message of sympathy and consolation to those who were passing through bereavement or heavy trial.

In the course of the next two or three years, by hard work and the dominant force of his personality, he gradually surmounted congregational troubles. By 1860 the congregation was knit to him as one man. In that year, at a most enthusiastic meeting held in the Trades' Hall, handsome testimonials were given to him by the young men, and also by the young women, as a token of their admiration and affection ; and the opportunity was taken to show how thoroughly the congregation, as a whole, were with him in all that he had done.

The work of Greyfriars Church, into which from the first he threw his whole strength, was of the most varied and many-sided nature. It afforded scope, as few congregations at that time could have done, for reforming and philanthropic zeal. To-day, the Christian Church has awakened to the fact that, if the souls of men are to be saved, an effort must be made to improve their whole environment—that it is worse than useless to preach to a certain class of the community, "Flee from the wrath to come," without helping to improve them socially and physically. But Greyfriars had grasped that principle while as yet there was little talk of social and philanthropic work in connection

with Christian congregations. As a striking illustration of that fact, it may be mentioned that Greyfriars Session, as far back as 1834, undertook the whole maintenance of the poor of the congregation, and resolved "that from and after this date there shall be added to the regular allowance of such poor members the sum received by them from the parish funds or the town's hospital, so as to supersede the necessity of their again requiring the aid of these institutions."

That this was no trifling test of the spirit of voluntary liberality may be seen from the fact that in twenty years, from 1835-55, no less a sum than £4461 12s. 5d. was spent for that purpose.

Again, when in 1833 the missionary, who was working in the High Street in connection with the congregation, reported that a great obstacle to his work lay in the dense ignorance of the people, and that the great majority of those whom he visited, both old and young, were unable to read, the congregation opened a day-school for destitute children and an evening-school for adults, which it maintained at its own charges. The fees charged were 2d. and 1d. a week, but those unable to pay received education free. The children attending came from the Vennel, the High Street, and the densely populated closes in the immediate neighbourhood, and belonged to the very lowest class. Mr. Calderwood took a great interest in this school, visiting it frequently, and imparting to the teachers, who were usually young men studying for the ministry, a strong sense of his sympathy and help. At the annual examination he was always present, with his Session, and brought with him some of the leading educationalists of the day to test the efficiency of the teaching.

There was carried on also by the congregation from an early period of its history vigorous and highly organised home mission work. In Mr. Calderwood's day no fewer than five home missionaries were employed. Four of these worked in the district near the church, bounded by High Street on the east, Trongate on the south, George Street on the north, and on the west by a line drawn from George Street through North Albion Street down to the Trongate. At that time this was about the most crowded, filthy, and leprous district in Glasgow; it included the long narrow closes and back lanes running off High Street and Trongate, the most famous of which were the Broad Close, the Tontine Close, and Greyfriars Wynd. These possessed an evil reputation as the habitation of thieves and prostitutes. Fever constantly lurked in those dens of vice, and the Greyfriars missionaries, who visited from door to door, required to be men of no small devotion and courage. Yet some of God's elect lived there also, and not a few were gathered even out of this sink of iniquity into the kingdom of God by the labours of that devoted band.

With this home mission work of the congregation Mr. Calderwood was in thorough sympathy, and gave much time and energy to its advancement. The missionaries even yet speak of the close personal interest he took in all their labours. They felt that his house was always open to them, and they went freely to consult him. Every other week he would inquire minutely into details of their work, and notably about particular cases which had come to his cognisance. Frequently he gave money out of his own pocket to tide a family over a period of distress. Altogether, the missionaries recognised his loving sympathy and

wise counsel as invaluable, and rested in it as a tower of strength.

One striking incident shows how deeply he entered into the circumstances of the missionaries themselves, and was ready to help in time of need. One of their number, a promising student who was studying for the ministry, suddenly broke down in health, and was told that if his life was to be spared he must go abroad. He had no friends to help him, and no means of complying with the command. His fellow-students in Greyfriars generously came forward and bought his books at their original value. Mr. Calderwood advanced the sum of £20 to take him to America, and gave him a warm letter of introduction to President M'Cosh of Princeton. At Princeton he speedily resumed his studies, gained a travelling scholarship, and was afterwards elected to the Greek Chair in one of the Presbyterian Colleges, of which he became Principal.

Some of the other missionaries retain equally grateful recollections of counsel and aid given at critical times by the minister of Greyfriars.

The congregation of Greyfriars took a very large-hearted view of their responsibilities towards the seething population of 11,000 souls who inhabited their mission district. They did not rest satisfied with maintaining five missionaries, but threw themselves personally and individually into the work of visitation and excavation. The most prominent efforts were naturally made amongst the young. The Sabbath School work was magnificently organised. No fewer than five Sabbath Schools,—afterwards increased to six,—and manned by over a hundred teachers, were maintained in this necessitous district, whereby a thousand scholars were brought under the influence of gospel truth.

Weekly visitation was engaged in by the teachers, in order to reach the most godless homes and bring out all available children. The instruction given was of the most varied and attractive kind. The teachers themselves were equipped for the work in preparatory classes. In addition to the ordinary Catechism and Bible lessons, lectures were given by trained scientific men on week nights upon such subjects as "The Eye," "The Marvels of Chemistry," "The Frozen Regions." The teachers of Greyfriars were amongst the earliest pioneers in pressing the lime-light and magic-lantern into the service of education; and children wondered and feared at seeing a living beast pass across the screen, which they were told dwelt invisible in the water which they drank.

The great field night for scholars, teachers, and friends was observed once a year in the City Hall, when the large building was crowded from floor to ceiling; and some of the most gifted speakers in the city came to address those children of the slums. From the day of his introduction into Greyfriars Mr. Calderwood was in the very heart of all this work, encouraging, stimulating, and leading it forward. The teachers were often at his house, and he was continually at their meetings with warm words of encouragement and help.

The Sabbath School report issued at the end of the first year of his ministry speaks of "a pastor having now been settled amongst us, whose heart is in Sabbath School work, and who has already manifested a willingness to labour in season and out of season, for the strengthening of our hands, the encouraging of our hearts, and the furtherance of our aims and efforts." As years went on, his interest in their work became more and more apparent, until no section of his

congregation was more devoted to him or more willing to rally round him in every good work than his Sabbath School teachers.

In addition to the schemes already in good working order, new social and philanthropic agencies were begun under his ministry. No sooner was a defect seen or need felt than an attempt was made to remedy it.

A most disappointing and disheartening feature of work amongst the children of the slums lies in the fact that they come freely to the mission Sabbath School during their earlier years; but, when grown to manhood or womanhood, they disappear and are lost in the maelstrom of city life. Thus, the labour bestowed upon them appears to be lost. Under Mr. Calderwood's guidance the Greyfriars teachers set themselves to meet this difficulty. Every effort was made to raise the young people intellectually and socially. Music classes were opened, a library instituted for the special benefit of the mission district, classes instituted for the purposes of teaching the young women sewing and housewifery, together with habits of cleanliness and thrift. Adult classes were formed under the most experienced teachers and conducted after the manner of a Bible class. The young lads were further associated in debating clubs, which met during the week and discussed literary, social, and even political topics.

These efforts seem to have met with gratifying success, as the Sabbath School report for 1860 declares that "these classes have been the most fruitful department of Sabbath School labour. We find the young men and young women brought by them into the Church, and from thence freely giving themselves to be fellow-workers together with us in the service of the Lord. It is gratifying to be able to state that of our

present staff of teachers twenty-two have been obtained directly from these classes."

By the year 1860 the influence of the young minister was being more and more felt, and his evangelical and philanthropic zeal communicated to an increasing number of his people. During that year several new departures were made in the effort to solve the problem of the "lapsed masses." A visiting agency was formed, the advent of which is chronicled in the church reports in the following terms:—

> It has been determined that, during the present year, some further attempt shall be made on the part of the members of the Church to sustain the efforts of the missionaries. There are very many, not at present engaged in any direct effort for the good of others, who, it is believed, would be willing to take a share in work if some form of usefulness were presented for which they felt themselves competent. In addition, therefore, to the present agency, it is proposed that of those not already engaged in Sabbath School teaching or otherwise, as many as are willing should visit a few houses in the district to be specially set apart for them, and in which they may read the Bible. Others may be engaged every Sabbath in inviting the people of the district to come out to the missionaries' meetings. In one or other of these ways, the members of the Church, both male and female, may have precious opportunities for well-doing, and in such agency those who are labouring hard all the week could be specially serviceable.

A few years later this work was further supplemented by the engagement of a colporteur, who carried into the homes of the people, and sold at a cheap rate, Bibles, magazines, and books of a bright and helpful character. He spoke to the people about their religious interests and aimed at counteracting the malign influence of a low class of infidel and indecent literature

then beginning to come into vogue. A forward step was also taken by the tract distributers and Bible-readers in instituting prayer meetings in the houses of those who were better inclined. To these the neighbours were invited, so that not infrequently amid the worst slums of Glasgow was heard "the melody of joy and health."

In 1860, a year already prolific in inauguration of new movements, another form of effort was begun, which has since been adopted by many city congregations. The circumstances of its origin are interesting. During the preceding winter a book entitled *The Missing Link* made a great sensation amongst the Christian people of Scotland. It gave an account of remarkably successful work carried on amongst the London poor by means of female agents; and it suggested to many in Greyfriars that a similar effort made in Glasgow might be attended with equal success. The first agent employed was Mrs. Bell, whose name will be long and worthily remembered for self-denying labour amongst the poor of that portion of Glasgow.

There can be no doubt that much of this varied philanthropic work and earnest, aggressive Christian effort was inspired by Mr. Calderwood's ministry. His teaching and spirit were being communicated to other souls, and so great was the admiration which many of the young people had for him that they were ready to throw themselves heartily into any movement which he favoured. Many of those agencies have now become the commonplaces of home mission effort, but the Greyfriars congregation must be credited with having helped to lead the way in that mighty movement of modern times into which the Church is now throwing herself so heartily, but to which she was then oblivious

—namely, the social regeneration of the sunken masses in our great cities.

In more than one instance the outcome of these vigorous home mission efforts was the origination of a self-sustaining congregation, formed out of the working-classes and manned by its own office-bearers. When this most desirable result was attained it was due not only to the special energy of the missionary in charge, but also to the fostering care and wise guidance of the minister of Greyfriars. There was nothing that delighted his heart more than to find this fresh proof that the Gospel of Christ could raise the lowest, and that the voluntary principle could flourish in the crowded and destitute parts of the city, as well as in wealthy suburbs.

With regard to strictly congregational work, the impression of those associated with him, who are living to-day, is that there was no single department into which he did not throw himself with all the intensity of a strong and vigorous nature. Love of music, and especially of sacred music, was one of his most marked characteristics. We have already seen how profound was the impression made upon him in early life by the rendering of the "Messiah." It was natural that he should take an unusually deep interest in the service of praise. Greyfriars Church was much more advanced in musical culture than in those days was at all common. While many congregations were still droning out the psalms in that indescribable wail that then passed for music, and even the paraphrases were to many a sealed book, Greyfriars had a powerful and well-balanced choir. Out of this grew the "Greyfriars Philharmonic Association," which, under the able leadership of Mr. James Robson, gave itself to the

study of the works of the great masters, and more particularly of Mendelssohn. For Mendelssohn, both as a man and composer, Mr. Calderwood had a profound admiration. He wrote an attractive and interesting lecture upon his works, and, together with the Philharmonic Association, which supplied musical illustrations, did not a little to raise the tone of Church music in and around Glasgow.

Mr. James Robson, who is now ninety years of age, and, at the time of writing, is still teaching music in Hutcheson Institute, says, in the course of a few notes with which he has supplied me :—

> During the twelve years I was associated with Dr. Calderwood in Greyfriars congregation, I found him the same at the end as I did at the beginning—kind-hearted, and a gentleman in every sense of the term. In the pulpit and out of it he was consistent; "what he preached he practised." He took a deep and lively interest in every department of congregational work, but especially, to my mind, in the department with which I was more immediately concerned—the conducting of the praise.

His deep interest in the Association and thoughtfulness for the welfare of its members are revealed in the following letter, sent to Mr. James Robson, along with a copy of *Mendelssohn's Letters* :—

GLASGOW, *25th February* 1865.

MY DEAR SIR—I have much pleasure in sending to you, according to promise, the two volumes of *Mendelssohn's Letters* for "Greyfriars Philharmonic Society." Although the circulation of books among its members is not one of the designs of the Society, I am sure, after the labours of this session in studying the music of Mendelssohn, all the members will be glad to get a fuller acquaintance with the composer. I am inclined even to hope that the perusal of such volumes as

these may be helpful to the object of the Society, as stated in Part II. of its constitution. The letters are well fitted to encourage and develop a good musical taste, and bating the evidence of Continental laxness on Sabbath observance, equally fitted to raise the moral and spiritual tone of the mind. If, after perusal by the members, there should not be any prospect of the Society forming anything in the shape of a library of its own, I would recommend that the volumes be placed in the congrégational library on the condition that the Philharmonic may have them when wanted.

From the manner in which the Society is working, I anticipate that it will attain to an honourable history.—I am, my dear sir, yours very sincerely,

HENRY CALDERWOOD,
Hon. Pres.

The efforts of the Session of Greyfriars, under Mr. Calderwood's guidance, to improve the form of worship did not meet with universal approval. The introduction of chants and doxologies in the year 1860 was regarded by some of the older members as a serious innovation, and gave rise to keen and bitter feeling, so much so, that some whose fathers before them had been connected with the church threatened to leave. The minister's tact, kindliness, and forbearance were so marked that his action was ever afterwards remembered by those whose feelings were most deeply stirred, and by their children, who carry grateful recollections to this day.

There was a repetition of this experience two years later, when the Session recommended that the congregation should stand at praise and sit at prayer. The great majority of the members were prepared for this innovation and readily fell in with it; but the old method of sitting at praise and standing at prayer had been so long in use in Presbyterian churches

that to many it possessed something of the sanctity attached to the ten commandments. Although the Session expressly declared that no one would be compelled to adopt the new method, not a few carried their opposition so far as to leave the church. Yet, even they bore testimony to the fine spirit in which their minister had sought to meet their difficulties, and how patiently he had listened to their arguments. While absolutely uncompromising with regard to a course of action that he thought right, he at the same time believed it to be his duty to make himself all things to all men, if by any means he might gain some. He acted upon the principle which long afterwards he enunciated in the practical training class for divinity students: "Be perfectly conciliatory, perfectly courteous; but, when once a decision has been arrived at, be perfectly rigid."

It was, however, in work amongst the young and in pastoral visitation that his power to lead souls into the kingdom of God was revealed in a most marked degree. Once every month he gathered the children of the congregational Sabbath School into the church, and adapted the afternoon service specially for them. It was a somewhat unusual experience to have question and answer passing between pulpit and pew, and to see the ordinary formalities of Presbyterian worship for the time being laid aside.

In his Bible classes for young men and young women, conducted separately, he continued to pursue the same plan that he had adopted in his Bible class in Rose Street with such success, making it his special aim to win the members individually for Christ. Besides giving out examination papers and essays, which he carefully marked and returned, he invited the

members to hand in privately any statement of personal difficulties bearing either upon doctrinal or personal religion. Without giving names, he took up these difficulties in presence of the class, and then invited those more immediately concerned to meet with him at the close. Some of these after meetings were specially impressive, and to them many trace the beginning of their Christian life. One night the famous beadle, James Dawson, who is specially remembered for witty sayings, but who had another and deeper side to his character, was present. Coming out very solemn and impressed, he said to an elder who met him in the lobby: "Of a' the things I ever heard, I never heard anything like the way the minister spoke to these young folk about the Saviour waiting to be gracious."

Rev. W. Moffat, Rose Street Church, Edinburgh, sends me a few notes, which set forth vividly the impressions left by this Bible-class work:—

I was just a lad, not yet in my teens, when the young minister, Mr. Calderwood, was ordained. It was not until I entered his Bible class that I came directly under his influence. By the time I was old enough to join this class it had increased so as to fill the large hall behind the church, the passages and steps to the desk also being occupied frequently by the eager members. The method of conducting it was quite simple. A verse or two of a psalm or paraphrase —we had no hymns in those days—a brief, but deeply earnest prayer, and then a Scripture topic, such as sin, faith, righteousness, love, etc., taken up in three or four Scripture passages, carefully explained, and then experimentally applied. Reason and conscience were both appealed to, the stillness of awe reminding one of Jacob's words: "How awful is this place." I know now what I did not know then, that it was the Spirit of God doing His work in these broken hearts. It has been my lot since then to see many most solemn gatherings—never any more so than these. When the lesson

was over, invitations were given to the anxious to remain for a personal interview with the minister. Eternity alone will reveal the history of the hundreds who were, during these years, brought to Christ, by this wise and faithful servant of Christ. It was in the little vestry that I met, in deep spiritual anxiety, for the first time face to face with him who was to be my lifelong friend and counsellor. As I look back on that interview, I realise more than ever the value of a well-trained and deeply spiritual ministry. The ease, the insight, the love with which all my difficulties were met and removed, won my heart and my reason also, and then and there my life reached its turning-point. Even after this, Dr. Calderwood's ministry was to me and hundreds more, who, like myself, owed to him their spiritual awakening, a continual inspiration and incitement. One pre-Communion discourse I still remember as vividly as when first I heard it. The text was: "Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to have thee that he might sift thee as wheat." It opened for me a new chapter in theological study, and showed to me how deeply conscious of, and how full of vigilant sympathy with the spiritual needs and difficulties of his people, this faithful pastor was. His sermons to children, his interest in the Sabbath Schools, his lessons to teachers, his help at the Literary Society, made him universally a favourite with the young; and his tender sympathy and attention in the homes where sorrow and bereavement were, won for him equally the affection and esteem of those more advanced in years.

In his work as a pastor he was supreme. He possessed a quite extraordinary faculty—developed, no doubt, by training—of remembering faces and names. It has been said: "He never forgot a face." He knew every man, woman, and child in his church, and whenever he met any of his people in the street he had always a bright and a kindly word for them. Sometimes, through bashfulness or for some other reason, a member would wish to hurry past, but the minister was usually too quick for them, and compelled them to accept a

friendly greeting. A carter in the employment of the Caledonian Railway told a fellow-member with evident wonder how the minister left the pavement and came to speak to him, as he was leading his horse in the middle of the street. The action so won the carter's heart that, to use his own simple words: 'He would ever afterwards have done anything for the Doctor.'

In the pastoral visitation of nine hundred members, he had the unusual faculty of being able at once to touch upon whatever was the centre of interest in each particular home; and even after the lapse of a year he would remember the circumstances of his last visit. By his frank and friendly manner he quickly won the hearts of the children. He made a point of remembering each by their Christian name. It was his wont to stop and speak to them whenever he met them, and often when they saw him coming they would, unlike some of the older people, cross the street that they might not miss him. This habit he retained throughout life. Passing along a country road or a village street, he would stop and speak to nearly every child he met; and, as children know those who love them, their faces lit up with pleasure when they saw him coming.

The strong bond of affection between him and the children greatly endeared him to the mothers. A fond mother, very proud of what she took to be the special recognition bestowed upon her son, exclaimed: "He never meets my John but he opens his arms to receive him!" But the same might have been said of every child in every household in the church.

Another characteristic of the true pastor he possessed in an eminent degree. "I will seek that which was lost, and bring again that which was driven away,

and will bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen that which was sick." He watched for souls as one that would give account.

The following notes from a letter to his wife reveal the spirit in which he sought to perform this delicate work :—

7th July 1858.

Miss —— came according to promise, and looking a great deal better, as well as being in a much better state of mind. She is not now exhibiting the mere signs of remorse, but seems to have got round to a state of repentance, in which she specially feels the sin which she has committed against God. Now, she is more disposed to look to God and to trust Him. May God once more take her under His care, and save her from backsliding! I have much more hope of her now.

The young man who had yielded to infidel sentiments came again. He informs me that his mind had been very deeply impressed that night after leaving me, and that he had felt himself to be a sinner more than ever before. These impressions had not passed away, but had been increased at the meeting of Sabbath evening. He is now endeavouring to look to Jesus.

The young man, T., whom I met on the way to the meeting a week past on Sabbath, came again. He seems very deeply impressed, but struggling in the midst of difficulties. He had been trying to do better, but at the meeting on Sabbath evening my remarks had opened his eyes to the folly of that, and he had got past that danger. Now, he is striving with the unwillingness of his own heart. I think he is coming to the next grand lesson of the complete weakness of his own heart. I am very hopeful of him.

He was quick to detect signs of spiritual failure in any of his people, and would at once call upon them, or send a note asking them to come to see him. Some resented what they reckoned uncalled-for interference ;

but many a one passed out of the minister's study, having received a fresh vision of God and duty, and resolved to fight more manfully the battle of life. When young people are applying to be admitted into Church fellowship, they are more than usually open to impression ; and these occasions were greatly used by him to press home the question of personal religion. Some laid bare to him their inmost soul, and still carry with them most sacred memories of that time. Young men used the utmost freedom in stating their difficulties in religious belief. What they felt about him was that he met them on common ground, and listened to them without any air of superiority. It was as if one searcher after truth had met with another, and both were anxious to find out the living way.

One young man, whose mind had become impregnated with Theodore Parker's teachings, told him freely of his doubts as to Trinitarian doctrine, with the result that he ultimately became a believing Christian. Another was troubled about the sin against the Holy Spirit, and the minister dealt with him so tenderly and sympathetically that, as the young man himself said, "He set my mind at rest, and made me feel that what we know not now, we shall know hereafter." Some words aptly spoken by him are cherished still. A young lad, who was in his Bible class, had been applying for his first situation with the support of his minister. A short time afterwards Mr. Calderwood met him, and, stopping him, asked him, "Well, James, did you get the situation?" The youth triumphantly replied that he had ; and then came another question, which searched his heart in such a way that he never forgot it : "And have you thanked God for it?" One of his missionaries had been sent

to call upon a poor family, and remarked afterwards that he was astonished at the evidences of grace which he had seen there. The reply was: "The longer your experience becomes, you will be the more impressed with the amount of grace manifested in regions where it was least to be expected."

For one so much occupied in public and congregational work, he spent quite a remarkable amount of his time in dealing with individuals. Like his Great Master, he sought to set the gospel of the kingdom not only before large audiences, but likewise before the individual soul; and wherever he had hopes of saving a man, no trouble was reckoned too great, nor was time ever spared.

In the mission district near the church he chanced to come across a family that had sunk very low, through the intemperance of the parents. He became interested in the victims of this dreadful vice, and hopeful of their recovery. Under his influence they were awakened to a desire after better things, and took the total abstinence pledge. Better days seemed to have begun for them, and they became regular attenders at Mrs. Bell's meetings. However, in a short time they fell away, and this fall was repeated again and again. Most men would have abandoned hope; but Calderwood's tenacity showed itself here as elsewhere. He never gave up his fight against the devil while a chance of success remained. Going to them again and again, he kept them from despair, strengthening by every means possible their growing will-power, until he had the satisfaction of seeing the fruit of his labours in two redeemed souls.

Another striking example, out of many that occurred, of the good he accomplished by means of personal

interviews, was the case of a mill-worker. She belonged to a class which, at that time, was little cared for, and generally far removed from religious influences; but this girl was led under his guidance to a decided, religious life. Amongst the coarse and light-minded girls with whom she worked she became a power for good, and was the means of bringing about a religious awakening in the mill. Through her personal efforts many of her companions became earnest workers and joined the forces which Greyfriars already had in the field, waging war against sin in the slums of Glasgow.

"I shall never forget," writes a former member, "what I learned in my young days from Dr. Calderwood in Greyfriars. Those memories haunt me, and when I think of him I seem to be fired with renewed vigour to go on in the right path."

Many similar testimonies could be given to the remarkable power of his personal influence in changing and moulding human lives; but, as one has remarked who knew well his work and its methods, "Only the Great Day will declare how many souls he has for his hire!"

As a minister of consolation also, Mr. Calderwood gained a deep and permanent hold upon the affection of his people. Whenever serious trouble came into a home, a family was gained for life. Sickness and death opened a path for him into the inmost heart. The quiet, sympathetic manner, the note of true, deep interest which can never be counterfeited, the power of adapting consolation to the special needs and temperament of the individual, made his visits specially acceptable by the bedside of the sick, and in homes upon which the shadow of death had fallen. All

through life he was ever ready to go to those in trouble. This habit formed during his ministry at Greyfriars was never set aside. Even during a summer holiday it was no uncommon thing for him to turn aside from a country walk or fishing excursion into a humble clachan where lay a bedridden sufferer, and there read a few words of the Bible and pray. Then he would resume his walk, having left behind a gleam of heavenly sunshine. So, in the busiest days of his ministry, distress in mind or body was treated as a clamant summons to go at once to the home into which it had entered, and to go as often as necessity required. More than one has said to me in this connection: "We shall never forget his kindness at that time." "My brother," says one, "was in great distress of mind over a shooting accident at the ranges. Dr. Calderwood came over and over again and did not cease his visits until he succeeded in restoring peace. His kindness will never be forgotten."

"He was a precious minister to me," said another, who was more or less of an invalid during his whole ministry, and who, therefore, had not the advantage of enjoying frequently his public ministrations.

The expenditure of sympathy was a great tax upon his nervous energy, for he did not carry the sorrows of his people lightly. Those who were sustained by his firmness and self-control did not realise what his sympathy and helpfulness sometimes cost him.

One pathetic, almost tragic scene is remembered, in which his power of consolation was most marked. It took place in the house of the dead. A young man, who a little while before had been married, died; and his widow was in the last extremity of grief. When the coffin came to be removed she threw herself upon

it in a paroxysm of weeping, and clung to it, refusing to let it go. Those present spoke of the kind, tender, and tactful way in which the minister soothed her grief and helped her to regain self-control; but they never knew that when on returning home, and narrating the scene to his wife, he utterly broke down. Thus deeply did the sorrows of his people enter into his own heart.

Long after the ministry in Greyfriars was over, letters were received from him by those who were once amongst his members and were now passing through trial and bereavement. Many such letters remain, and I append two as revealing the interest he took in his old members, and the manner in which he sought to impart the blessed consolations of the Christian faith. The first is to the widow of one who had long been associated with him in the work of Greyfriars:—

12th October 1889.

DEAR MRS. SMITH—Only when it was too late for me to overtake a visit to you before leaving Glasgow did I learn of Mr. Smith's death. The sad loss became known to me through the kindness of Mr. Hunter, the Session-Clerk, who sent me a copy of the Sydney Place Monthly, which contained Mr. M'Ewen's reference to your dear husband, making fitting acknowledgment of his many faithful labours in Christ's service. I felt very sorry to come off from Glasgow without seeing you; I feel deep sympathy with you and Miss Smith in the trial which you are now bearing. My thoughts have been going back to Greyfriars—the Sabbath School, the mission district, the missionaries' meetings, the Session—and to all the endlessly varied scenes in which Mr. Smith's face stands out before me. Under all the cloud of sorrow which now settles upon you, there is abundant source of thanksgiving and praise. In many scenes your memory will find occasion for looking up in order to say: "Bless the Lord, oh my soul!"

And when you do so look upwards, you may linger long to think of the glory around the throne, the glory of Jesus shining everywhere, and the loved faces there with whom are "prepared places" for those to come, whose welcome is already expected even mid the joys of Heaven. However sad you feel, you know the High Priest touched with the feelings of our infirmity to whom you can in the quietest hour say—

> Bid darkness turn to day,
> Wipe sorrow's tears away.

So let us strive while sorrowing to be still rejoicing: "rejoicing in the Lord alway."

The other is to Mr. Robson, the old leader of Psalmody, on the death of his wife:—

30th October 1897.

My dear Mr. Robson—Mrs. Calderwood and I deeply sympathise with you under the loss of your dear wife. Her sweet character gained the admiration of all who knew her; and we understand what a loss to you is involved in her removal. May God cheer and sustain you, giving you much joy in looking back and also in looking forward. Precious is the future, which our loving Saviour has filled with blessing for us, giving us His promises that we may in some measure understand what is too great to be understood in fulness.

When our Lord says, "In My Father's house are many mansions," He seems to aid us in thinking of the family life being continued in the world beyond, in so far as all the association of the earthly life will pass on to the heavenly land. All the way by which He hath led us will shine in the light of His love.

Let us wait for that hopefully and joyfully, feeling that the light breaks through the dark cloud. Jesus promises for the present in preparation for the future: "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you."

Mrs. Calderwood and I look back with loving interest to the days when your figure was conspicuous in the centre of

the choir, when Mrs. Robson's happy greeting was always welcome, and when all your family were about you, sharing in the service so well rendered to the Church.

May God give richly His blessing to you and to all the members of your family.—My dear sir, yours sincerely,

HENRY CALDERWOOD.

CHAPTER V

PUBLIC WORK IN GLASGOW

(1856–1868)

Social Reform—Temperance—American civil war—Sabbath question.

GLASGOW forty-five years ago was a very different city from what it is to-day. In 1851 the population, without reckoning the suburbs, was 330,000. It was still of such dimensions that it was possible for a public man to become quickly known, and, if he had power in him, to make a deep mark speedily upon its life.

Every part of the city was readily accessible to the great central meeting place—the City Hall, where public gatherings were held upon all the leading questions of the day.

The pulpit and platform, as educators of public opinion, held as yet a more prominent place than the daily press. In the generation of ministers who were just growing old when Mr. Calderwood came to Glasgow, many great reputations had been made on the platform of the City Hall. Dr. Heugh, Dr. King, Dr. William Anderson, and the Rev. William Arnot had held vast audiences spell-bound by their eloquence,

and had roused the enthusiasm of the city upon the great questions of Slavery, Catholic Emancipation, and Religious Equality.

In the years from 1856 to 1868 no questions of equal public interest arose, but, nevertheless, to a man of public spirit many opportunities presented themselves of assisting the community. From a very early period of his ministry Mr. Calderwood threw himself into the public work of the city with an intensity second only to that with which he devoted himself to ministerial labours. In an address to divinity students in 1865, he unfolds his views as to the attitude that a minister of Jesus Christ should adopt towards the public movements of his time. In the course of that address he used these words : " Every minister should concern himself with questions affecting social reform which have a bearing on religion. If there be any one here who thinks that a minister should confine his work to his own congregation, I do not stay to argue with him. I take it for granted that those here do not shut themselves up to any narrow theory of the kind." The unworthy idea that a minister should abstain from thorny public questions because he might possibly offend some members of his congregation he never entertained for a moment; but, wherever the opportunity offered of helping the cause of Christ in its application to the affairs of the world, there he was ready to take his place, regardless of consequences.

The work in which he was most interested, and for which he grudged no effort, was that connected with the elevation of the working-classes, or the amelioration of the lot of the poor. Even at that date Glasgow was endowed beyond almost any city of its size with

charitable and philanthropic institutions, and not a few of these were begun during the twelve years of Mr. Calderwood's ministry. There were the Magdalene Institute, Prison Aid Society, House of Shelter for Females, Asylum for the Blind, Convalescent Homes, Night Asylum for the Homeless, Model Lodging Houses, where the poorest for a trifling sum could get a comfortable bed. Those at the head of these philanthropic efforts never appealed to him in vain. They knew that in the minister of Greyfriars they had a warm and sympathetic advocate.

As a social reformer, however, he struck out on lines of his own. He was the leading spirit and prime mover in the origination of the "Social Reform Association," the main object of which was to provide for the lower classes of the community bright and helpful entertainment, with a view to counteracting the influences of the low music saloon, the public-house, and vicious literature. Some time previously the Glasgow Abstainers' Union had started concerts on Saturday evenings in the City Hall, but for the most part these were attended by the respectable working-classes, the lowest charge for admission being 6d. The Social Reform Association sought to reach a still lower class of the community, and for the purpose of carrying out their work purchased an old building that went by the name of "Parry's Theatre," situated near the Saltmarket, at the N.W. corner of Glasgow Green. The building, which would hold about 1500 people, once rejoiced in the name of the "Queen's Theatre," but had latterly descended to the level of a penny gaff. By the munificence of John Henderson, Esq., of Park, it was rescued from this low use and turned into a centre of benign influence. The following description of this

place of amusement, written by an intelligent eye-witness, who visited it in 1858, two years before it was acquired by the Social Reform Association, shows the class of people that the Society sought to reach, and the kind of entertainment that it desired to supplant:—

> As we enter the building the applications of youngsters for admission are numerous. Paying a penny, we make our way upstairs, passing a temporary erection for the sale of lemonade, fruit, and confections. In a moment we are in front of the stage, where a portly-looking gentleman is dancing a hornpipe to the strains of the orchestra in front, *à la Royal.* The house is large and commodious, with an inclined pit for the gods, seating about two or three hundred people, who gaze at us with suspicious eyes, many of them respectable lads and lasses, but some of them of the lowest dregs of society, their ages varying from twelve to twenty. As the curtain drops so does decorum. It is the signal for the shrill whistle, the loud laugh, and the vulgar jest, together with a score or more of fuming tobacco-pipes, clandestinely lit by the aid of a borrowed match. Overhead are two galleries, respectively occupied by the élite of the assembly, who pay a few pence more for select society.

In addition to Parry's Theatre, low Music Halls were dotted over the whole neighbourhood, and the idea of the Social Reform Society was to create a taste for something higher, and thus lead ultimately to their abolition. Almost nothing of that nature had been done for the lowest classes up to that time. Every Saturday night during the winter months, a first-class entertainment in vocal and instrumental music was given. An orchestra, conducted by the brothers Adams, gave its services at a low charge, and was so identified with the work that for long it went by the name of "Calderwood's Band"! Choral music was from time to time supplied by the Greyfriars Philharmonic Society,

and first-class readings were rendered by capable men. We find that on the opening night Mr. Calderwood himself gave a reading entitled "The Ramsgate Lifeboat." The charge for admission to these Saturday evening entertainments was 1d. and 2d., while there were a few reserved seats at 6d. It was never expected that the venture would be a financial success, but the members of the Association (of whom the leading lay member was J. Henderson, Esq., of Park) were prepared to make good the deficit. For a time the concerts were carried on with remarkable success. The large building was often filled with the very people who had been wont to frequent Parry's Theatre. But gradually the novelty wore off, and the community returned to its wallow in the mire. Doubtless the concerts were not without result, but the Saltmarket was not permanently lifted above its appreciation of the music-hall ditty and the blood-curdling melodrama.

In addition to entertainments in the Greendyke Street Hall, concerts were also given under the auspices of the Association in other working-class districts, such as Cowcaddens, Anderston, Bridgeton. On summer evenings it was proposed that orchestral music should be rendered on Glasgow Green, so that, "when the West-End inhabitants were enjoying themselves at the coast, the working-classes might have music provided for them that would enlighten and cheer." Courses of lectures were delivered for several winters, and amongst them we find one on "Music," by Mr. Calderwood; "Music and Art," by the famed Poet-Preacher, Dr. Robertson of Irvine; "Common Sense," by the Rev. Stowell Brown. For several years these various schemes were carried on, and received a wonderful amount of popular support, but in 1865, probably on account of

the continual heavy drain on the guarantors, the work of the Society was brought to an end.

The principle aimed at by Mr. Calderwood and the gentlemen who gathered round him in this Association has now been generally accepted throughout the country, and nowhere more fully than in the city of Glasgow. The free supply of music in the Parks, cheap Corporation Recitals on Saturday afternoons in the City Hall and St. Andrew's Halls, the People's Palace, erected not far from where Parry's Theatre once stood, in which musical entertainments and exhibitions of painting are open to the poor of the East End, all testify to the strength of conviction now animating civic rulers that the best way to fight disease, vice, and crime is to supply a healthy counteractive in the shape of wholesome entertainment. Those early efforts were sustained only for a little time and then allowed to lie fallow, but they constituted, nevertheless, an enduring contribution to the city's life and progress.

Under Mr. Calderwood's guidance an effort was also made, mostly by gentlemen connected with Greyfriars Church, to get hold of the working-men on Sabbath. Many of them spent that day lounging about the Tontine Buildings, which were situated at the Cross, just opposite King William's Statue. Underneath those buildings was a covered way, used throughout the week as a promenade by the business men of the city, who frequently concluded their bargains there and discussed the latest news. On Sundays the regular habitués were gone and their places taken by the loungers from Saltmarket and Bridgegate and High Street, who spent the day in smoking, gossip, and card-playing. The Tontine Reading Rooms were taken for Sundays, and the men invited in, while

several gentlemen came and read to them from books of interest. Occasionally an address would be given, sometimes by Mr. Calderwood himself, and in the absence of a formal address, a sermon by some noted preacher was read. From one hundred to two hundred men attended, and in this way a class was reached who would not enter an ordinary Mission Hall. Similar meetings were held also in Parry's Theatre, and in another low-class music saloon called "Mumford's Geggie," situated at the corner of Saltmarket and Greendyke Street, but which had now been acquired for this higher purpose by the late J. Henderson, Esq., of Park. As the author of these and other like efforts, Mr. Calderwood began to acquire a name in the city as a social reformer, and to be regarded as a man with distinctive ideas upon the needs of the people.

During the twelve years that he was in Glasgow he took an active part also in Temperance work, appearing frequently upon public platforms as an advocate of Total Abstinence.

A lifelong abstainer, he had, two years before he came to Glasgow, identified himself with the Scottish Temperance League—a Society which requires from its members a pledge that they will neither take nor give any alcoholic liquor as a beverage. As his position in Temperance reform involved him latterly in a good deal of controversy, it is interesting to ascertain his early standpoint.

In a speech delivered in the City Hall on "Christian Duty in view of Prevalent Intemperance," he sets forth the grounds upon which he advocates personal abstinence. The ground that he takes up may be described as that of Christian expediency. "I have to urge, that the measure of intemperance in our land is

such as to demand special efforts for its suppression. Facts are the basis of our appeal."

Amongst these facts he specially emphasises that multitudes from among the rising youth are continually being led into the ruinous paths of dissipation, from which they never return. He once said from the pulpit that he did not know the Temperance Society that he could not join if it would help to stay the progress of the terrible evil.

In view of incontrovertible facts, he asks what it behoves Christian men to do in dealing with an evil so gigantic and so disastrous in its consequences, and he rests his answer upon three separate considerations, that he believes should weigh with Christian men.

1. "Christian duty requires us to lay aside whatever leads to evil."

2. "Christian duty requires us to bear special testimony against prevailing sin."

3. "It is a Christian duty to labour by all means to secure the deliverance of those who are either in danger of becoming the slaves of evil or who have already come under its bondage." How best to do this, he acknowledges, admits of different answers, but he leaves his audience in no doubt as to his own personal resolution. "Do we help the man successfully to act on our advice if, when he sits at our table, the cause of temptation is always set before him, and if, whenever he joins us in our social gatherings, he finds us who give him the advice freely using intoxicating drinks, and with them pledging our friendship to each other? Or shall we not rather prove the strength of our conviction in giving advice, the depth of our sympathy in the moral conflict which he wages, and the earnestness of our desire to do our Master's will to every neighbour, if we

surrender what custom has made common, in the hope that we may thereby win such as he? To my mind the answer is clear. If customs can be maintained only to the hazard of multitudes of our fellow-creatures, we gladly forsake the customs which are hoary by antiquity, and feel ourselves more blessed than our fathers in recognising the call addressed to us to make such a surrender."

This is certainly strong ground to take upon the question, and so far as his own personal preference went he never materially changed his position. Even in those early days, he dissociated himself from those who erected Total Abstinence into a fresh commandment by insisting that the man who touches alcoholic liquor is committing as great a sin against God as the drunkard.

In the City Hall he declared that it would be a mistake in total abstainers to favour anything which might tend to make it appear as if their position were antagonistic to that maintained by the Church generally. "Abstainers may be accounted the advance guard in this campaign, doing work for which the whole army is not prepared, in cutting down and levelling the bulwarks of intemperance. *But the whole Christian army is engaged in the campaign with the same great purpose.*"

That he felt positive distaste even then for rabid hysterical presentation of the cause of abstinence is clear from the following incident, told by an old friend: "When a preacher I spent a few days with him in Glasgow. By way of diversion and interest we went to a temperance meeting which was to be addressed by the late Rev. W. Arnot and others. The first speaker was a student, whom we both knew. He took for his theme the enormity of the *Gaudeamus*[1] of St. Andrews Uni-

[1] The famous students' song.

versity, and pictured it in somewhat lurid gleams. He managed to irritate and oppress every one in the audience. The meeting was in the very worst of temper for those that were to follow. Mr. Arnot rose in a kind of ungainly, peculiar fashion, and said with an infinite touch of power, 'Gaudeamus,—Let us rejoice,' and went on to show why we should rejoice in cold water. He had the audience by one stroke, and carried it on in rapture to the close. Professor Calderwood often referred to that as one of the finest strokes of sagacity and power which he ever witnessed."

The question of Temperance legislation was not so far advanced in 1856 as it is to-day, but it seems even then to have had the power of giving rise to sharp controversy. In 1858, the Permissive Bill Association, a child of the United Kingdom Alliance, was inaugurated in Scotland with the declared object of the total and immediate suppression of the liquor traffic by legislative enactment. The origination of this fresh Society was bitterly resented by the Scottish Temperance League, and many hard words were written by representative organs of the two Associations. At the Annual Meeting of the League in May 1859, Robert Smith, Esq., the President, referred to this division in the Temperance camp, and described the attitude of the League as follows:—

During the year a great diversity of opinion regarding the proper mode of advancing the Temperance cause has manifested itself among abstainers, some holding that it can only be attained by an appeal to the legislature for power to be conferred on the inhabitants of each district in the country to permit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors or not as they see fit; while others hold it is vain to expect

legislation to do much more than it has already done, till social habits and public opinion have undergone a great change. The latter opinion has been looked on more favourably by our Directors than the former, and they have hitherto endeavoured to expose the evils arising from our drinking customs, and recommended total abstinence as the most rational means of attaining the desired end.

In this controversy it is significant that Mr. Calderwood sides with the more moderate party, and appends his name to an address signed "Temperance Reformers of Scotland," calling upon all interested in Temperance to rally round the standard of the League and present an undivided front.

Six years later he was elected to the Directorate of the Scottish Temperance League, and seems to have been again engaged in patching up quarrels. His election along with two other clergymen did not pass unchallenged, as a few members were evidently in great fear of clerical influence. In the following letter he refers to his election and the motives which led him to accept the appointment.

3rd May 1864.

I then went down to the meeting of the Scottish Temperance League, where I took part in a somewhat lengthy discussion as to the constitution of the managing body. The discussions during the past year have been painful, and a large body of the Directors are retiring, and there seemed some danger of the abstinence movement suffering materially. I think the thing has been tided over as well as could have been. I left about one o'clock, after which, it seems, I was elected one of the Directors along with other two ministers. This is the first time in the history of the League that *ministers* have been made Directors,—and a fight ensued over the innovation, some strongly denouncing the proposal that ministers should hold any such place. This brought out the Rev. Peter M'Dowall of Alloa, who gave the opponents a very thorough

scourging, it seems. He asked if ministers were not members as well as others; if the *fact* of their being ministers disqualified them for being Directors, and if so, was it their *religion* that was accounted a disqualification? If so, he thought it high time that the ministers were taking a stand, to inquire into the religion of some of the lay members, and to secure that abstinence movements should not become irreligious movements. This last consideration is the only one which would make me willing to hold a place as a Director.

He remained for several years a Director of the Scottish Temperance League, and a member of it down to 1871, when, for reasons which will afterwards be referred to, he retired. He continued throughout life to appear on Temperance platforms, and never ceased to advocate the cause of personal abstinence.

The outbreak in 1861 of civil war in America, one of the great events of the century, awakened tremendous interest in this country. The feeling at first amongst the upper and middle classes was strongly in favour of the South. The existence of slavery was involved in the struggle, but in the negotiations that preceded war that question was not placed in the foreground by either party. As late as May 1862 President Lincoln said: "My paramount object is to save the Union—not either to save or destroy slavery." The only declared claim, on the other hand, that the South put forward was the right to secede from the Union.

The issues involved in the conflict were thus in the first instance somewhat hidden, and in the eyes of many the North was responsible for fratricidal conflict in refusing to let the South go. In addition to that, many selfish considerations influenced opinion in this country. The ruin of the cotton industry, bringing distress throughout the whole of Lancashire, growing

jealousy of the power of the United States, which found expression in the belief that their disruption was necessary for the security of this country, natural sympathy for the weaker side and admiration for the courage and military capacity of the Southern Army as manifested in early battles, all caused the tide of public opinion in this country to flow strongly in favour of the Confederate Government. The great majority of our leading public men and almost all the chief newspapers throughout the country gave their powerful influence to the movement for Secession.

Yet, from the very first, voices here and there were raised in favour of the North, and amongst our public men there were a few who understood the true inwardness of the great conflict, and for whom the moral issues involved obliterated all lower and more personal considerations. John Bright was the most conspicuous example of that small and despised minority who, from the opening of hostilities, maintained a noble stand in favour of the North. Amongst that number also Henry Calderwood is to be reckoned. An old scrap-book reveals that he watched the struggle with keen intensity, and took special note of Lincoln's declarations with regard to slavery. As soon as it became clear that the extinction of slavery depended upon the issue of the war, he gave both voice and pen to the support of the Federal Government. At a great meeting held in the City Hall on 11th December 1863, he moved the principal resolution with regard to the war, which was as follows:—

That viewing human slavery as utterly abhorrent to the Divine Will, and an outrage upon a helpless and unoffending people, this meeting condemns the present attempt of the Southern States of America to form a confederacy, with the

avowed object of extending and perpetuating that debasing system, and to establish a government—for the first time in the history of the world—founded on the execrable doctrine of the right to enslave their fellow-men.

In speaking to this resolution he gave the key-note to a strong and vigorous speech in the words, "I am free to declare that my sympathy is all with the North."

He deprecated the effort that was being made in Parliament and in many influential quarters throughout the country to force the British Government to recognise the Southern Confederacy as belligerent, and pointed out the bearing that such action would have upon the maintenance of slavery.

Having given a history of the origin of the struggle, he declared :—

In direct opposition to what we hold to be a first principle of constitutional government, that the majority shall rule, the slave party refused to submit. If there was anything in the operation of the Constitution which gave this majority to the anti-slavery party, there was a constitutional method for proposing a change. They would not even attempt to carry an alteration. Separate States chose to secede, and they determined to form a Confederacy for themselves and appeal to war in vindication of the deed. Having chosen war, they must abide by their choice, and on no constitutional grounds have they a claim on our sympathy—(cheers and hisses). From the bottom of our heart we pity their sufferings, as we pity all human sufferings, whether the sufferers be black men or white, bond or free. We could bind up the wounds of their bleeding men, we could tread the floors of their hospitals and give comfort to their dying soldiers; but we have not a single element of sympathy with the struggle which the South is waging. . . .

Having then seen, that, by the confession of the seceding States, slavery is the cause of the secession, what shall we say

of the constitution which they have adopted? In its preamble it professes to be adopted "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," and that means liberty to themselves and to their children, to *buy* negroes, to *whip* negroes, to *break up the families of negroes*, and so far are we as a nation removed from sympathy with that, that we British people will not give a man liberty to whip his own horse, or dog, or donkey as he pleases.

He closed a strong and stirring speech in the following words:—

Slavery in its mildest form is a dreadful wrong: slavery as it is in America is chargeable with every form of iniquity which the Bible condemns; and there is something worse than slavery, that is, a constitution adopted by the influence and wealth of a country to perpetuate it. There is something worse even than that—a body of Christian ministers to defend it. With our soul we loathe this Southern Confederacy, and if it claims to be recognised as holding a place among the nations, we claim liberty to choose better company. We ask our Government to save us from the disgrace of seeing the representative of such a nation at St. James's. The confederacy is already rotten at the core: we ask that it be left a hissing and a reproach among the nations—left to go to destruction by the internal decay already at work."

During the delivery of this speech he was frequently interrupted by a large section of the audience, who were determinedly opposed to the Federal Government, but by courage, combined with dogged perseverance, he not only gained a hearing, but sat down amid the loud cheers of those present. A still better proof of his fearlessness in speaking so strongly upon a question that sharply divided the community lay in the fact that he must have been perfectly well aware that his words would give offence to many in his congregation, including some of its most influential members; but

in following the call of duty he showed in public actions a lofty scorn of circumstance, and having done his part, allowed results to shift for themselves.

Ultimately public opinion in this country began to turn round in favour of the North, until, even before the close of the war, and still more so afterwards, it entirely approved of the action of the States that fought for Union. Almost the entire credit of the change was due to men like Cobden and Bright in Parliament, and to Calderwood and many like-minded citizens of public spirit, who in their various communities sought to lift the eyes of their fellow-countrymen above temporary and accidental considerations, and keep them fixed upon the moral and spiritual issues involved in that historic struggle.

During the later years of the Glasgow ministry he took a leading part in another great controversy, viz., the Sabbath Question. Scotch Presbyterianism has always favoured the Puritan view of Sabbath observance, and has strenuously resisted every attempt to introduce the Continental Sunday. Of the various sections into which Scotch Presbyterianism is divided, the Secession Church was not the least strict. Mr. Calderwood's father when in business in Edinburgh was once asked to supply a particular kind of biscuit to a hotel-keeper for the Duchess of Kent, who specially desired them; he replied that if bread, the necessary of life, had been required, he would willingly have complied, but that he would not sell biscuits on Sunday even for the Queen herself. Brought up in these strict notions, and deeply convinced personally of the value of the Sabbath, Mr. Calderwood held strong views as to the character of the day of rest, and when opportunity arose maintained

them with clearness and force. The immediate cause of the disputation that waged fiercely in Glasgow and indeed throughout Scotland in 1865, was the opening of the Edinburgh and Glasgow railway for Sabbath traffic. The first mutterings of the storm were heard in the beginning of the year, when some goods trains were started, but it broke out in fury when a service of three passenger trains calling at intermediate stations was instituted. For nineteen years the line had been closed against Sabbath traffic, and this attempt to re-open it stirred up the strongest opposition from many Christian people. Deputations were sent from Edinburgh and Glasgow to convince the Railway Directors of the unpopularity of the step they had taken. They were memorialised by Synods, Presbyteries, Working-men's Associations, Town Councils. Great public demonstrations were held in the City Hall to protest against the encroachment upon the Lord's Day. Gradually the discussion took a wider range and the whole question of Sabbath observance, together with the grounds upon which it rested, became subject of debate in Presbyteries and in the columns of the daily press. The flame was fanned by the speeches of Dr. Norman Macleod, who, while disapproving of the reasons advanced by the Railway Directors, was almost alone among the clergy in sympathising with their action. In a famous appearance before the Glasgow Presbytery, he urged that the Sabbath of the fourth commandment was abrogated,—its injunctions and precepts of rest no longer applicable, and that the *Lord's Day*, bringing privileges and duties in harmony with its own character, had now taken its place.

Calderwood was undoubtedly the most prominent figure on the other side, and threw himself into

the controversy with characteristic zeal and intensity. Upon the strictly theological aspect of the question he scarcely touched, so that we have no means of knowing how far he agreed and how far disagreed with Dr. Norman Macleod's position. While he did not make use of the antiquated arguments on behalf of Sabbath observance, he still connects the Christian Sabbath with the ancient institution of a day of rest. "If you do not take the authority of the Bible in the matter, then you can lay no claim to a Sabbath at all. You have a natural right to bodily rest. But the will of each man may determine when he shall rest, or employers of labour, with consent of their servants, may decide at what times and for what periods the workers shall cease their toil. If, however, you take the Bible authority as the warrant for having a Sabbath in each week, nothing can be clearer than that you must take the Bible rule for its observance. The decision of the character of the weekly Sabbath is therefore simple. Either it is a holy day, or it is a common day of the week. There is no other alternative. If, therefore, as a matter of fact, there is in this land a general admission of the duty of keeping a Sabbath day every week, there is only one possible explanation of the fact, namely, that in this land there is a general submission to a Divine command, expressed in the Word of God."

He was specially severe upon the Directors of the Company, who through their chairman defended their action upon purely commercial grounds. The question had been declared to be simply one of supply and demand. If the public wished the trains, they would prove that by supplying them, and if this patronage were not forthcoming, the trains would be withdrawn.

In the pamphlet which he published, as well as in

speeches before the Presbytery and in the City Hall, Calderwood commented severely upon lowering the standard of public duty by limiting it to public convenience :—

So far as the discussion is already put on record, there is on the part of the defenders of Sabbath trains far less reference than there was twenty years ago to high, moral, and religious considerations, and far more reference to mere convenience and expediency. With a uniformity of consent too widespread to be accidental, the newspaper writers who have assumed the defence of the Sabbath trains have deliberately torn away the discussion from its connection with the only Sabbath law in existence.

Referring to the plea set forth by the Directors that the public will soon say by their patronage whether these trains are wanted or not, he asks :—

What is the moral worth of this plea? If you consent that this question of Sabbath trains be reduced to one of supply and demand, what becomes of morality and religion? The most confirmed Sabbath trader in the Saltmarket of Glasgow, or the Cowgate of Edinburgh, will meet you with the same statement. He will throw open his shop on the Sabbath morning and say, if the public want my commodities on the Sabbath, they will soon show, and if it pay I am willing to supply. The keeper of the worst den of infamy can defend himself on grounds as good as those which the Railway Directors have chosen. He will say, the public will tell whether licentious indulgences are wanted or not, and what pleases them pays me. The Railway Directors deliberately rest their defence on the lowest ground which can be taken in opposition to those who plead that Sabbath observance shall be regulated according to Divine rule.

While holding these strong views upon the question at issue, he lays down clearly the limits that he con-

ceives must be assigned to public interference with the Sabbath keeping of others :—

The right to interfere with the Sabbath engagements of others has obvious limits. Though one man is convinced that it is the will of God that the Sabbath should be kept holy, he has no right to maintain that his conviction should sway the action of another man, so long as that man's action affects only himself. If a man who admits no obligation to keep the Sabbath holy yokes his horse on that day, and goes forth to seek his own pleasure, the action concerns himself, and his neighbours have no responsibility. But, in so far as we share in responsibility, there is a right of interference with the Sabbath engagements of others. The public opinion of a community has a right to regulate all that concerns the community as a whole. Accordingly, if any trading company professes to serve the public, by that profession it becomes responsible to the public. If this company has received its trading charter by a decision of the national will, expressed by vote in Parliament, in a very special way is that company responsible to the will of the community. This is fully admitted by the Directors, who acknowledge that it is their duty and pleasure to consider very fully the feelings of those people of Scotland among whom they have introduced their railway.

The view expressed by him on this burning question of the hour as well as the vigour with which he maintained his opposition, brought him much before the public. He was the recognised leader of the Presbytery upon the question, and was convener of the Committee appointed to draft a memorial to the Directors. He wrote pamphlets, preached sermons, delivered speeches in the City Hall, in which he advocated withdrawal of support from the Railway Company until they yielded to the force of public opinion. Altogether he revealed at this time those qualities of indomitable energy and burning interest which distinguished him in after years

in connection with every public cause to which he gave his heart. This strong line of action necessarily exposed him to a great deal of odium from those who were eager to see looser views upon the Sabbath prevail. No man ever made a greater effort than he to make his practice square with his teaching, and he often walked a long distance on Sunday to fulfil an engagement rather than use a cab; but even he could not escape the charge of inconsistency. He was found fault with by one of his own members because Mrs. Calderwood, whose health prevented her at that time from walking to church, took a cab on Sunday. For a time he was, along with Norman Macleod, the most talked of and most written about man in Glasgow. Yet the community as a whole, including the majority of those who differed from him, admired a man of such strong convictions, who could remain unmoved by all the attacks delivered against him.

Thus in the comparatively short period of twelve years—at an age when he was still a young man—he left a deep mark upon the public life of a great community, and that not by any transcendent ability or high oratorical gift, but by the purity of his motives, the intensity of his interest, and the energy with which he threw himself into every movement that had as its object the social and religious improvement of the people.

CHAPTER VI

EARLY POSITION IN THE SYNOD

(1856–1868)

First appearance—Early views on Organ Question—First debate on Union—Union negotiations—Work amongst United Presbyterian students.

DEEP interest attaches to the first appearance which a speaker makes in an Assembly in which he afterwards plays a leading part. Dr. Calderwood was for ten years one of the trusted leaders of the United Presbyterian Synod, and was a prominent member until the close of life. From the very first he took a lively interest in its business and a considerable share in its debates. No one was ever less inclined to thrust himself forward for the mere sake of obtaining prominence; but he possessed the conspicuous courage that never hesitated, even when it might be misunderstood, to take the part assigned by living interest and deep sense of duty.

His first appearance in the Synod is thus described by an old friend, who watched his gradual rise in influence:—

Forty years ago the speaking in the Synod was entirely in the hands of the older ministers. About twenty of them,

mostly grey-haired men, many of them men of much power and weight, sat on the front seat of the Synod Hall, and out of that privileged circle the speakers on all the questions submitted to the Synod arose. They arranged the order of business, and the order in which the speakers should be heard. If any one outside of that circle was to be heard it was they who asked him to speak, and he was heard because they did ask him. For any young man or any one outside of that charmed circle to make his voice heard without their request would be viewed as an impertinence. And since it would be so, and also because the speaking of the members of that circle was so excellent, no young man ever did seek to make his opinion known. One evening, however, when some important matter was before the Court, a young minister arose from a back pew and with clear, firm voice began to speak. It was Henry Calderwood who interrupted the arrangement made by the grave and reverend seniors in the front. What surprise was felt by them! What looks of indignation and signs of disapproval as they sought by clamour to silence him that the debate might go on in the lines already arranged! What admiration of his courage was felt by the younger men, and by some, what fears lest he had taken a step he could not maintain. The clamour that was raised by the older men would have disconcerted any one less self-possessed and less bold. The colour that suffused his countenance showed that even he felt the trying nature of his position; but he said what he rose to say, briefly and clearly, and then the debate proceeded in the course the leaders desired. On another occasion, soon after that, he rose and spoke again, when there was some, but less, opposition shown to his speaking, for they had learned on the former evening that he could and would speak. Other younger ministers, such as Dr. James Brown of Paisley, began to follow up Dr. Calderwood's lead, and soon the monopoly of speaking enjoyed by the older ministers was broken, and the right of the younger men to take part in even the most important discussions of the Synod was allowed, a right that has been maintained to the present day. But it ought to be kept in mind that it was Dr. Calderwood who by his courage and force won for them that privilege.

From the nature and constitution of the United Presbyterian Synod it was possible for a young man who had the ability to reach quickly a position of influence. Unlike the General Assemblies of the Free and Established Church, the Synod is not a delegated body, but consists of all the ministers, together with an elder from each congregation. Every minister had therefore an equal opportunity of understanding and sharing in the business, whereas in a General Assembly the few older and more prominent members who are sent every year possess a great advantage over all others. There is another sense in which the Synod gives a young man a chance. There is probably no court in the world that is so democratic, or which is so ready to accept the lead of a comparatively unknown man when his motion expresses the mind of the majority. That is perhaps truer to-day than in 1856, when Henry Calderwood entered the Court and, as we have heard, introduced a change for the better. He was the very soul of straightforwardness, and abhorred anything of the nature of manipulation or wire-pulling. What could not be attained by force of natural conviction he was willing should not be attained at all.

One of his earliest efforts to guide the legislation of the Synod was in regard to the appointment of Synodical Committees, and in this action he revealed some of the characteristics that marked his ecclesiastical career.

In 1864 he overtured the Synod to take into consideration the advisability of adopting some other method than that then in vogue of nominating its committees. Committees were responsible for much of the practical administration of the Church, and thus it was

desirable that their work should be spread over as many members as possible. According to the system then in vogue, committees were nominated from the chair, with the result that only those personally known to the Moderator were likely to be appointed. The result of Mr. Calderwood's overture was an entire change in the method of appointing committees. A Selection Committee was thereafter annually appointed, under regulations carefully devised, to secure the representation of older and younger ministers, and was instructed to have special regard in its appointment to distribution of the Church's work over as large an area as possible.

It was natural for a young man to advocate such a change as that just mentioned, but the spirit manifested in it characterised Dr. Calderwood to the last. When, many years later, a still further change was advocated in the appointment of the Selection Committee, with a view to making it still more representative, the movement had his entire sympathy. After he himself had become a leading spirit in the business of the Court, he welcomed the infusion of fresh blood into its debates, and in every way possible encouraged young ministers to take an active share in its affairs.

With regard to many questions dealt with in the earlier part of his Synodical career, he did not take such a progressive view as might have been anticipated in a young man. His first considerable speech was upon the introduction of instrumental music. That question came before the Supreme Court in 1857, upon memorial from Claremont Church, Glasgow, praying the Synod to grant liberty to use an organ in public worship. The Glasgow Presbytery had forbidden its use even

at prayer meetings, and a fine instrument already placed in the church stood silent, waiting for more liberal counsels to prevail. In the Synod some very strong speaking took place, and those opposed to instrumental music carried the day. From what we have already learned of Mr. Calderwood's deep interest in music and his susceptibility to Handel's Oratorios, one might naturally have supposed that he would have strongly favoured the introduction of instrumental music. But a strong vein of conservatism mingled with his radical tendencies and manifested itself upon this question. In his speech before the Synod he contended that Christ required the laying aside of everything not essential to spiritual worship. As to forbearance, he remarked that that was quite proper as to matters of speculative theology and to everything that did not interfere with worship itself, but that as instrumental music injured the devotional feelings of the Church and deteriorated the worship of God, he opposed its introduction into any congregation. How thoroughly he was convinced then and for some years afterwards of the soundness of this reasoning may be gathered from an extract from a letter written in 1864 :—

> This news of the harmonium does not encourage me with the prospect of quiet worship which I should like to have during two days of relief from pulpit work. I would go to any little conventicle to escape it, but I shall try to keep my mind oblivious of what the musical machine does, and concentrated on what the worship involves.

All this is extremely interesting in view of his later opinions upon the subject. He was never ashamed to change his mind, and when his convictions altered he

had the frankness and honesty to say so. When the Synod finally gave its permission in 1872 to congregations to use instrumental music, it was his motion that was carried. No one could have enjoyed more than he did in later life the use of instrumental music in devotional services, and he would not have confined it simply to the organ. Twenty years after that first speech in the Synod he would have unsaid nearly every word he uttered.

Upon another subject that cropped up in those early days we find him on a different side from what we should have expected. It was upon the question of theological training. By the year 1862 much dissatisfaction was expressed with the system of theological training, on the ground that a short session of two months with the Professors still attached to their congregations was not thorough enough for modern requirements. No less than three overtures urging more or less thorough changes were laid upon the table of Synod that year, and were remitted to the Theological Committee for consideration.

The following year the Committee recommended that no radical changes be made meanwhile in the Divinity Hall arrangements. A large minority in the Committee, as well as in the Synod, urged that the session should be immediately lengthened from two to five months, and the Professors loosed from their charges, so that they might give their whole time to the work of instruction. Notwithstanding his strong academic instinct Mr. Calderwood threw the weight of his influence on the side of "use and wont." What probably weighed with him was the consideration, which at the time was fully expressed, that a five months' session would prevent many of the poorer

students from going forward to the ministry. Dr. King, who seconded the leading motion, made much of this point, and Mr. Calderwood followed in his support. The following extract from one of his letters shows his sympathy with this standpoint :—

14th May 1863.

We have all this forenoon been engaged in the discussion of the Hall question, and it has been carried by a sweeping majority, on the motion of Mr. M'Ewan, Claremont Church, seconded by Dr. King, that there be no change made from the summer to a winter session, but appoint a small Committee to consider what improvement can be made in the present system. Dr. King gave a very admirable speech, quite a treat to listen to—the old man himself in all his old power.

Upon this subject also he latterly came to be of a different opinion, and pled for the most thorough training of the Christian ministry, both for the home and foreign field.

In the year 1863 the question of union with the Free Church was introduced by overture to the Synod. It had previously been discussed on public platforms and in magazines, and the Synod was now asked to take definite steps towards accomplishing this union. The Free and United Presbyterian Churches had many points upon which they agreed. Both were outside of State connection. They professed the same creed, had the same form of government, were both supported by the free-will offerings of their people. The only point upon which they were at all likely to differ, or which would prove a serious obstacle to union, was the question of civil establishment of religion. When the Free Church in 1843 severed itself from the State, it formulated its Claim of Right, in which it was declared that its members or their successors were free to

claim the restitution of all such rights and privileges, temporal benefits and endowments as for the present they were compelled to resign in order to preserve the free exercise of spiritual government and discipline. At the Disruption the leaders of the Free Church evidently looked forward to reunion with the State, when more favourable conditions could be obtained.

The founders of the Secession and Relief Churches, on the other hand, contented themselves with expressing in the clearest and most emphatic manner the wrong done by the State to the Church in interfering with its spiritual functions; but said not a word about the future relation of their Church to the State.

During well-nigh a century and a half that had elapsed between the founding of the Secession Church and the date of the overtures for union, repeated declarations had been made by the Synod against the principle of establishment of religion or its compulsory support from the rates. Between 1830 and 1840 a controversy raged with regard to the connection that ought to exist between Church and State, known as the Voluntary Controversy. In that discussion the great majority of the members of the Secession and Relief Synods adopted the view that the State had no right to select and endow a particular religious denomination, and that a wrong was done to the Church of Christ when taxation, which relied upon the strong arm of the law, was called in for its support. This is substantially what has been called the Voluntary Principle, which, although it does not find a place in the Basis of Union of the Secession and Relief Churches, and has never been laid down as a condition of communion or ministerial fellowship, yet repeatedly found

expression in Acts of Synod, and was accepted by the vast majority of its members. In 1863 Mr. Calderwood was what was called a keen Voluntary—that is, he was thoroughly in sympathy with the principle of religious equality, and jealous for its maintenance. The whole Synod was more or less in the same position. Nevertheless, there had always been great variety of opinion as to how far the principle should be carried in its application to actual circumstances, and to what extent it was modified by the complementary truth of national religion. The "Voluntaryism" of the Synod had almost as many shades of conviction as are to be found in the German Parliament. There might be said to be the Extreme Right, Right Centre, Centre, Left Centre, and Extreme Left. If we were to categorise Mr. Calderwood's position in 1863, we would place him in the Left Centre. In the first debate upon union, the thorough-going Voluntaries—the men of no compromise—were led by Rev. Henry Renton of Kelso, who moved that the overtures "lie on the table," without indicating when, if ever, they were to be lifted from it. In the course of debate, he stated that he would rather be the minister of the smallest Presbyterian Church which held the principle that the Church had no right to depend upon the civil power for her support, than he would be of the largest in Christendom that denied that principle or held it in practical abeyance. The seconder of this motion also declared that there could be no union until the Free Church took its establishment principle out of the Claim of Right. Mr. Calderwood was not in the minority of fourteen that supported this comparatively hostile motion; but seconded a mediating proposal, which obtained only three votes, to the effect "that the Synod cordially sympathise with

the spirit and aim of the overtures, appoint a Committee to prosecute the subject of union; but at the same time declare that any union must have in its basis no compromise of this Synod's distinctive testimony with regard to the civil magistrates' powers in matters of religion!" The whole of the Synod, with the exception of these seventeen, voted simply that a Committee be appointed to confer upon union with any corresponding Committee of the Free Church. Mr. Calderwood was appointed to this Committee, and as he was the only member of the minority selected, it may be assumed that he was put there specially to represent those who were most keenly zealous for the Voluntary Principle. Then began the ten years' conferences, in which he took not a leading, but an interested and strongly sympathetic part, which were destined to end in failure, but in these latter days are about to bring forth fruit.

The year 1863-64 was spent by the Joint Committee in discussing the question of the relation of Church and State. The United Presbyterian Committee laid on the table of Synod of 1864 a statement (1) of the opinions on the relation of Church and State, on which both Committees are agreed; and (2) the points of difference under the head of Distinctive Articles. As Mr. Calderwood was a member of the Committee, he must have given his assent to the Articles of Agreement, which contained the following two notable propositions:—

1. That civil government is an ordinance of God for His own glory and the public good; that to the Lord Jesus Christ is given all power in heaven and on earth; and that magistrates, as well as other men, are under obligation to entrust themselves to Him, and to regulate their conduct in their several places and relations by His Word.

2. That the civil magistrate ought to further the interests of the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ among his subjects in every way consistent with its spirit and enactments; and to be ruled by it in the making of laws, the administration of justice, the swearing of oaths, and other matters of civil jurisdiction.

A further article declared strongly in favour of the absolute spiritual independence of the Church, and denied the right to the civil magistrate to impose upon his subjects a creed or form of worship. On the other hand, amongst distinctive principles, it was stated on behalf of the Free Church that, while the civil magistrate must have no authority in spiritual things, yet he may lawfully acknowledge as being in accordance with the Word of God the creed and jurisdiction of the Church; and also as a further act of homage to Christ, it is his duty, when necessary or expedient, to employ the national resources in aid of the Church, providing always that in doing so he abstain from all authoritative interference with the Church.

The United Presbyterian Committee practically said the very opposite of that.

Inasmuch as the civil magistrate has no authority in spiritual things, and as the employment of force in such matters is opposed to the spirit and precepts of Christianity, it is not within his province to legislate as to what is true in religion; to prescribe a creed or form of worship to his subjects; or to endow the Church from national resources; that Jesus Christ, as sole King and Head of His Church, has enjoined upon His people to provide for maintaining and extending it by free-will offerings; that, this being Christ's ordinance, it excludes State aid for these purposes, and that adherence to it is the true safeguard of the Church's independence.

When these findings were reported to the Synod of

1864, they were by no means regarded favourably by keen and ardent Voluntaries.

The Rev. Henry Renton declared, with regard to the Articles of Agreement, that there was not one of them he could give his assent to without qualification and explanation, and that, in his opinion, they went the length of swamping the Voluntaryism of the Church; while Dr. Davidson, another leading Voluntary, asserted "that in the first Article of Agreement there was the thin end of the wedge, which had only to be driven home to send the professed Voluntaryism of the Church to shivers."

Dr. Calderwood, on the other hand, declared strongly this year in favour of union, and in a speech delivered almost at midnight held the house riveted as he insisted that the Articles of Agreement did not compromise the true Voluntaryism of the Synod; and that, with regard to points upon which the Churches differed, there was room for mutual forbearance.

In the course of that speech he gives a definition of what he understands by the Voluntary Principle, viz.: "That the Government shall not control the Church on matters of faith and worship, and that the Government shall not provide for the support of the Church." He clearly dissociates himself in the following utterance from a Voluntaryism which would deny to the State the capacity of giving expression to the religious life of the nation.

> When you read this first clause—the civil magistrate ought to further the interests of religion, you ask, What religion?
>
> There is a fallacy in the question. We are not using the language of denominations at all. We are speaking of that which is above all denominations—that which is embraced in all evangelical denominations. We are speaking of that which every Christian man understands when he speaks of

the religion of Jesus Christ, the reverence for God as supreme, and the submission to God's Word as authoritative.

If we are to be told that the civil magistrate cannot be warranted in using God's Word—if we are to be told that over the door of the House of Commons must be written this, as the distinct understanding of the nation, that the authority of God's Word cannot be pleaded within these walls, and if that be called Voluntaryism, I hope this Church will be long kept from such Voluntaryism. I regard with scorn and disdain that thus our Voluntaryism should be spoken of, and that, as a Church, we should be held up as maintaining that God's Word should be laid on the shelf when our members become members of Parliament. I cannot sufficiently give utterance to the sense of grief, of pain, of indignation with which I listened to these statements made as though they represented the opinions of this Church. I hope it will go forth to the community that, so far from sympathising with these views, we hold views entirely the reverse, and regard such views as these as the most patent, thorough-going violation of all Voluntaryism that was ever attempted by any member of this Court.

Before closing he made a powerful appeal for forbearance, and claimed that—

the flag that was to be run up to the mast-head when both parties sailed in one ship was not *Voluntaryism or its opposite*, but the grand old principles of the Gospel, with the missionary spirit marked clearly out upon it. I do not suppose that, moving towards union, we are to expect perfect uniformity of opinion, but I think it is very desirable for us to cast a glance forward and take into consideration what must be the bearing of our movement if we do enter into fellowship with each other. There are great diversities of opinion in the Free Church; and in a small section of that Church you have the extreme on their side, just as in a small section in our Church you have the extreme on our side, and I have usually been counted among the extreme men. Now, I think that what we may rejoice in, in prospect of union, is this,—that the united body must move on in all the great movements of the country

now advancing. I hope it will thereby deliver us from many of those influences which are now restraining us, and for one thing, I hope there is coming a revival of Voluntary Principle, by means of that very union which will secure more and more its intelligent, thorough application throughout the land.

The Joint Union Committee worked diligently for five years, formulating the points of similarity and divergence between the Churches upon a great variety of subjects—theological, financial, and administrative. No written record exists to-day of their meetings, nor of the place that Dr. Calderwood filled at them. The subject in which he was most interested, viz., the relation of Church and State, was practically decided by May 1867. The Synod of that year declared that the known differences between the two Churches should form no impassable barrier to Union, and that the negotiations should proceed on the basis of toleration of divergence of opinion on non-essentials. In helping to bring about that result, as well as in formulating the United Presbyterian position, Dr. Calderwood played a not unimportant part. With regard to his attitude and work, I am favoured with a few reminiscences by Principal Rainy.

My impression is strong of the clearness, good sense, and good feeling with which he spoke. As far as I remember, he did not make himself very prominent, leaving the lead to older men, and coming in when something required to be cleared up or completed.

The point about which much discussion took place was the question—Assuming that Establishments are a matter, in the lawfulness of which different opinions are entertained, how far do the United Presbyterians agree with Free Churchmen in holding that States and Nations ought to own the authority of the revealed will of God, and ought therefore, among other things, to have some regard to the welfare of

religion and the Church in the action which they take within their own sphere? Farther, supposing this to be recognised in general, can any forms of action be indicated to which the principle would apply. As a rule, Free Church members of committee were disposed to press this point, and United Presbyterians were on their guard against making admissions which might prove embarrassing in relation to their known position about Church and State. *Dr. Calderwood's line was conciliatory*—that is, he accepted the general principle, was not afraid of its consequences, and exerted himself to show how it should be stated and how it could be guarded. In this connection I remember Dr. Buchanan of Glasgow more than once speaking to me of conversations he had privately with Dr. Calderwood, and he mentioned this in particular, that Calderwood remarked to him that he thought the Voluntaries had thrashed out the question of Church and State very well and thoroughly, and that their decision upon it would stand in the main; but there was, he believed, a region around that which had not been so well considered by them, and which required to be reconsidered.

Divergence of view on the relations of Church and State entered also into the question of Education. The Free Church received Government grants on behalf of her denominational schools and colleges, whereas the majority of the United Presbyterian Synod had again and again committed itself to the proposition, that it was not within the province of the civil government to provide for the religious instruction of the subject; and that this department of education belongs exclusively to the parent and the Church.

The Joint Committee, while stating this difference of view, agreed that, with respect to existing arrangements in connection with school grants, the United Church should be left free to decide upon its own course of action. Upon this question of education, Dr. Calder-

wood seems even at that time to have occupied a mediating position; for, at the Synod of 1862, he expresses himself strongly against making it a cardinal doctrine of Voluntaryism to have absolutely no religious instruction in State-paid schools.

As a United Presbyterian minister, he did not feel himself bound to advocate secular teaching apart from religious teaching, as had been proposed in the resolutions of Mr. Robertson; but, on the contrary, he declared that such teaching would be most pernicious. . . . He understood that what was declared in this third resolution committed the Court to this—that the Government had no right to make provision for religious instruction; but it went on to say that Government shall provide for some instruction. If this instruction were instruction without religion, was not that secular instruction, and was not that committing them to secular instruction? In reference to the secular theory, he believed that the secular parts of education were thus based on a very low standard indeed of what education was. It was a very easy thing to square their principles as a Church with the possibility of a national system of education—to declare that there shall be no morning prayers offered in the schools; it was a very easy thing to declare that the Bible should not be a class book in the schools; but he held that their Voluntaryism led them no such length. It was not a legitimate thing; and he would deem it to be a very sad thing if there were any educational institutions in our country whose proceedings in the morning were not opened with prayer, and where the Bible was not the standard of appeal.

Throughout the whole ten years' negotiations he remained, both in Synod and Committee, an ardent advocate of Union. While in those days he described himself as a keen Voluntary, he made it quite clear that he did not think differences of opinion on that score should prevent the Churches uniting. In that view, the vast majority of the United Presbyterian Synod

concurred, and so also a majority of the Free Church; but the time was not yet.

In these latter days there is every likelihood of the early conferences bearing rich fruit, but Dr. Calderwood lived only to see the beginning of a movement which, in its completion, would have greatly rejoiced his heart.

Before the twelve years were ended which brought his ministerial life to a close, he had made himself felt as a power in the Synod. From a very early period in his career, he was looked upon as a man to be reckoned with in debate, and as years went on, he secured in increasing measure the trust and confidence of his brethren. During the latter half of those twelve years, quite an unusual amount of synodical work was laid upon him. He was a member of several important committees. Between 1856 and 1868, in addition to being a member of the Union Committee and Selection Committee, he took part in an important movement for the better organisation of Sabbath Schools, which, as far as most congregations were concerned, were then in their infancy. He was a member also of the Theological Committee, which, highly important at any time, was then specially engaged in the arduous task of considering the reconstruction of the Divinity Hall. Along with several others, he was appointed by the Synod, in the summer of 1866, to do Home Evangelisation work. He was a member of the Committee on Disestablishment of the Irish Church, which was then a burning question; and in that capacity expressed himself in favour of complete disendowment and of unsectarian and undenominational education.

Upon many other questions of less interest he was called upon to give his assistance, so that, within

twelve years, he had already accomplished an amount of work for the Synod that was possible only to one who was reckoned amongst its most trusted and gifted members.

One interesting and significant incident is worth recording, as revealing possession of the quality that enables men to go to the stake, and is indicated by the proverb, *Athanasius contra mundum.* While in his early synodical career he had little opportunity of exercising this quality, he showed even then that he was not afraid to form one of a small minority, not a whit abashed, although the whole Court was against him. One of the first occasions upon which he entered his dissent in the Synod Minutes was against the Moderator's ruling,—a kind of dissent which, happily, is extremely rare. The Moderator had allowed a member, who took a considerable share in managing the business, to second one motion and vote for another. Tradition does not say why the fickle one should have been so quickly off with the old love and on with the new, but the action offended Calderwood's sense of fairness and his love of straightforward dealing. His dissent stands in the books of Synod with the names of several ministers attached, and the reasons he adduces in its favour must have proved a somewhat hard nut to crack.

They were as follows:—

During the voting of the Synod on the Sixth Rule, the mover of the third resolution, not having voted for his own motion but for another, I dissent from the permission given to adopt such a course.

I. Because, by the rules of the Church, a proposal can be placed before the Court, only on evidence that it has at least two supporters.

II. Because the permission to propose one motion, and to vote in preference for another, must open the way for evils which the present rules are enacted to prevent.

HENRY CALDERWOOD.

In concluding this account of the early work for the Church, one more service should be mentioned, which, from the way he performed it, meant a considerable demand upon his time. For three years he was Presbyterial Superintendent of the students attending Glasgow University. The position has latterly become very much of a sinecure, as the students complain that the demands of their class work are sufficient to tax all their energies, and leave no time for further studies. However, in Dr. Calderwood's day, the students must either have been more willing, or University studies less exacting; for, in 1865, sixty students attended his class for reading in New Testament Greek and standard English authors, and even submitted themselves to examinations on lectures upon the mysteries of the Bible.

Graphic descriptions of his work amongst the students during those years have been supplied by two former members of the class.

Rev. Professor Hyslop writes:—

Throughout the session 1865-66 I attended Dr. Calderwood's class when he had charge of the students attending Glasgow University. During the greater part of that winter he also filled the Chair of Moral Philosophy rendered vacant by the death of Professor Fleming. Notwithstanding all this additional work and the constant demands of a large city congregation, he met with us week by week in the hall of Greyfriars Church, and discussed a range of subjects with a thoroughness and grasp which would have absorbed many a man's entire thought and time. The subjects Dr. Calderwood examined, and his method of instruction, made those

meetings memorable to many students. At first we had lectures expounding and defending those aspects of the Intuitional Theory of Morals which are vitally related to central Christian truth. On his appointment as *interim* Professor to the Chair, from which that subject would necessarily be taught to many students attending his evening class, Dr. Calderwood, with rare intellectual versatility, at once turned to other themes. These themes generally lay on the borderland of philosophy and theology. Thus he directed our attention to suggestive literature, such as Coleridge's *Mind;* and in a series of catechetical lectures pointed out how much subtle and stimulating thought could be found in these essays beneath all their rhapsody and mysticism. At other times he would take up *Ecce Homo* or Robertson's *Sermons*, emphasising the new and vivid lights these books cast on Christianity and Life, and also pointing out, as he thought, their defects and limitations in relation to the main verities of the faith. In dealing with these and cognate subjects, his method of tuition was Socratic. The students were questioned, so as to elicit their own ideas about the subject in hand, and also encouraged to state their difficulties and objections. In those instructions, by means of question and answer, the students could not but admire their teacher's intellectual alertness and agility of retort. But we all felt that he used his keen dialectics to get at the truth and never merely to win a victory. His charity was broad, not a charity born of indifference, but the expression of a generous nature nurtured in the Christian faith. He seemed to me always to take intense intellectual delight in expounding and defending Christian truth.

What impressed me, first of all, in Dr. Calderwood's class, and still more on closer association with him, was his openness of mind and his breadth of mental sympathy. He was always ready to welcome young men troubled by religious difficulties, even when they urged objections, which crossed his own cherished convictions. To some teachers, students would hesitate even to express the suspicion that the creed of their Church may not contain a full account of the whole mystery of God's relation to the human race. Not in-

frequently do young men shrink from frankly stating their theological difficulties to a deeply religious man such as Dr. Calderwood was known to be; but his whole manner and spirit won the confidence of younger men. In those meetings, now and again, we saw the flippant objector tripped up and laid on his back, yet the most diffident students, if serious, soon learned not to feel the least hesitancy in expressing their inmost thought. In this willingness to welcome difficulties felt by others, and in the candour with which he answered them, Dr. Calderwood secured the confidence of all the students with whom he came into contact, and helped not a few out of doubt and darkness.

It is always difficult to trace the influences of the past in moulding our early life. Who can fully answer the question: "How far has this or that instructor helped to mould our habits of thought and action?" Their influence has entered into the web of our life as its warp and woof, and these are inextricably mingled. And yet, after nearly thirty-five years, the lithe, active figure of Dr. Calderwood, as he then was, comes back to me, and I can still remember the impression he produced at those meetings on the students by his mental alertness, his calm judgment, his unfailing candour, and his firm grasp of Christian truth. Looking back on those winter evenings, I think of Dr. Calderwood, not only as a wise teacher, but as the students' friend,—one to whom they could tell their difficulties with a frankness only given to those whose confidence is secure, and whose judgment is gentle. We all trusted him implicitly; we felt he took an interest in our individual welfare. And the students of his riper years have confirmed the verdict of those he taught so long ago, for they, too, learned to revere him as a teacher and love him as a friend.

Rev. W. Moffat, Edinburgh, also a member of the class, writes:—

Amid the burdens and claims of a city pastorate, he did not allow his philosophical studies to lapse. Very soon he was appointed by the Presbytery of Glasgow to be Superintendent of the students of our Church who were attending the University.

Anything in the shape of additional work was not palatable to students who thought that they had already more than enough to task their energies, but the young minister of Greyfriars knew his men. With a courage and also a wisdom that never ceased to distinguish him, he proposed to this class a bit of work of the stiffest kind, nothing less than a close analysis of Butler's *Analogy*. Some of us had misgivings about this proposal at first, but we soon found these vanishing before the fascination of the subject, as it was dealt with by his acute and incisive mind. An analysis of the book was given in the German fashion. One proposition was carefully and slowly dictated which embodied the gist of each paragraph or division of the chapter that was under consideration, and then explained with a wealth of illustration and reasoning that made Butler's position luminous past all chance of misunderstanding.

I cannot now recall whether attendance on this class was compulsory or not, but it would not have mattered. The fame of it and the value of it would have secured a full attendance in any case. We felt we were in the hands of a master who knew his subject and could make it profoundly interesting and helpful. We saw his motive in directing us to such a study, and honoured him for the evident seriousness and sacrifice he manifested in undertaking it. Not the least delightful part of the hour was that occupied with answering questions and difficulties. His sense of humour, unfailing courtesy, sympathy with real difficulties, ability to put himself into the students' position, quiet chaffing of any one who tried to show off, and width of vision even in lesser themes and points, won our love and confidence to the utmost. It was a matter of rejoicing to the students when Mr. Calderwood was appointed Examiner in Philosophy to the Glasgow University. It was no surprise when he was asked to fill the place of Professor Fleming, of the Moral Philosophy Class, during a temporary illness. And when his appointment to the Chair of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh University came, there was not one of us but felt that the right man had been chosen, and that Edinburgh University had never done itself greater honour than in selecting him for this responsible and honourable position.

CHAPTER VII

LAST YEARS OF GLASGOW MINISTRY

(1861–1868)

First visit to the Continent—Evangelical Alliance—Death of parents—Appointment to Edinburgh Chair—Departure from Glasgow.

As years went on, Mr. Calderwood's hold upon Greyfriars congregation manifestly increased. All sections and classes recognised that a vigorous, powerful and effective ministry was being prosecuted amongst them, but young men and women were specially appreciative. The large proportion of young men in the church was frequently remarked upon. Many of them were attracted to his ministry just as they came up from the country-town or quiet village to make their way in the great city, and were thus laid hold of at the most critical period of life. He had the power of making young men feel that he was in thorough sympathy with all their interests, their recreations, their intellectual difficulties, their laudable worldly ambitions, and yet that throughout all he was directly and indirectly seeking their soul's weal.

The Young Men's Literary Institute, which had long been a feature of the social and intellectual life of

Greyfriars, never throve better than under the stimulus of his ministry and frequent attendance; and when, a few years ago, he was present at its Jubilee, no one could have received a warmer welcome.

The firm hold that he obtained over this portion of his congregation may be gathered from the remark made recently with warmth by one of the young men of those days, when speaking of the many efforts to which he had inspired them: "We young folks would have done anything for the Doctor."

In other respects, also, his ministry became more consolidated. The trying leakage to one or two suburban churches, which marked the opening years, practically ceased. Those who were going had gone, and those who remained were deeply and sincerely attached to him. When, in 1862, the remodelling of the internal arrangements of the church reduced the sitting accommodation by about a third, it was frequently remarked that the church had never looked fuller. Forenoon and afternoon the spacious building was filled.

Nor were outward and tangible tokens of appreciation lacking. In 1862, when Dr. King, whose health had been restored, was called to London, and the congregation had no longer the strain of providing for two ministers, the managers very generously recommended that the congregation pay the insurance on Dr. Calderwood's life for £1000. How much he appreciated this act of kindness may be shown from his letter of thanks, in which he says:—

> I accepted the intelligence of the resolution most joyfully, as encouragement to me in my labours, which I trust in the good providence of our God may be long continued in Greyfriars, with as much pleasure to myself as they are now

prosecuted. More joy in my ministerial work I cannot desire, and I trust God may enable me to give to a united congregation the services of maturer years.

A year and a half later the congregation increased his stipend by £100, and thus gave him still further evidence of the place he held in their esteem, and their evident desire to see to his comfort in every way possible.

We have already given such a record of work—congregational, public, synodical, and philosophical—that the question is forced upon us: Did this man ever rest? Under any circumstances he probably could not have continued long to stand the excessive strain, but he kept himself in good health by extraordinarily methodical habits. He never under any circumstances sat up late, and was always at work at half-past six. During the winter months the only physical exercise he took was walking the streets of Glasgow and climbing the stairs to the dwelling-houses of his people. It has been said of a distinguished statesman, that he never walked unless it was impossible to drive, but of Dr. Calderwood it might be said that he never drove unless it was impossible to walk.

When the spring came he occasionally gave himself a day at his favourite recreation of fishing. Together with two ministerial friends, he was joint-owner of a boat on Loch Lomond, and many a happy Monday was spent on its blue waters, in pleasant fellowship and vain attempts to lure the wary trout. A visit was also paid now and again to the clachan of Aberfoyle, where, together with one of his elders, a keen angler, he enjoyed an outing on Loch Ard. A day's fishing there, in a snowstorm, when the trout were taking freely, and the two friends had the joy of trudging back

to the hotel with wet clothes, light hearts, and heavy baskets, specially lived in his memory.

One of the secrets of his power of work lay in the fact that on those occasions he could completely throw off the worry and burden of toil, and enter into the spirit of the day's sport, as though he were a schoolboy out on holiday.

I remember on one occasion accompanying him on a day's excursion to a Highland loch. We had had a long tramp and great difficulty in finding the loch, but nothing damped his ardour or touched his good-humour. A misfortune that I had with a fine trout that I had hooked (my first) and my look of disappointment called forth the heartiest and merriest laugh that I have ever heard from any human being. Once or twice it broke out afresh on the way home, as he looked sideways at me, and was reminded of what to him—not to me—was a highly humorous scene. On these excursions, keen angler though he was, he was never so completely wrapped up in the sport but that he could take his eyes off to notice the light and shade on the mountains, and the grandeur and beauty of the scenery with which he was surrounded.

The summer holidays he usually spent at some of the Clyde watering-places, where, when he was not engaged fishing, he thoroughly enjoyed rowing or a tramp over the hills.

"I remember," writes a friend, "visiting him on a summer holiday at Arrochar, and of his rare zest in climbing the road to the hill-burns and returning with basket-loads of trout."

In the summer of 1861 he paid his first visit to the Continent, along with a brother minister, in order to attend the meetings of the Great Congress of the

Evangelical Alliance, which met at Geneva in September of that year. On his way thither he took the opportunity of visiting Paris, and also of seeing some of the sights of Switzerland. The whole visit occupied less than three weeks. Few letters remain, and of these the portions of more general interest are given below.

The first place visited was Paris, and we have in the following passages his estimate of Parisian life, which has rather deteriorated than improved since those days:—

PARIS, *27th August* 1861.

I have never had any idea of Parisian life till now, and from what I have seen of it, I should incline to say that parents run great hazards who dream of sending their children here to *finish* their education. It is likely to get a finishing in the worst possible way. The people, as a whole, seem given up to pleasure. Words cannot convey what the streets are like at night. Let me take a point by way of example. From the Champs Elysées up to the Triumphal Arch is a stretch of nearly a mile which you see clearly before you. The carriage road is wide; the footpath on either side has shrubbery to a considerable extent, in which are structure-like grottos, the use of which you wonder at during the day. At night they are all open, all lit up with gas, decorated with mirrors and rich painting. Besides the lamps in great numbers around, there is a stream of light from this open grotto, such as sheds its beams far up over the high trees. But what is in this open erection so decorated? Five or six young ladies, richly dressed—these are singers who come to the front in turns to sing. Immediately below, in the open air, are the instrumentalists, who play accompaniments, while around, seated at small tables, are people eating, and drinking wine, stout, etc.; these are all up the way. So it is at the cafés—the people sit eating and drinking at little tables set out in the streets before the doors and windows of the café. It seems as if the people did not know what it was to have a home.

From Paris the two friends go by Nancy to Basle,

and as may be seen from the next letter, his eyes were thoroughly open to all that was picturesque and striking in the scenery *en route*.

BASLE, 29*th August* 1861.

We left about half-past eleven o'clock, and came on through a country for the most part level to Strasbourg. The scenery all along the line is fine, a great part of it consisting in widespreading meadows, where the people were gathering in their hay in large waggons, drawn in many cases by two oxen. The women very generally seem to wear red petticoats and great straw bonnets, giving the meadows a very picturesque appearance. At one part of the line we came suddenly on a country altogether different. It seemed as if, by some strange adventure, the train had dashed by mistake into another land. The meadows were gone, and huge blocks of rocks lay on every side of us. The mountains rose grandly before our views, opening in valleys and having most picturesque villages on their slopes. This lasted but a few miles, and we dashed through two tunnels, and were back again among the meadows, the red petticoats, the straw bonnets, and the oxen. In the one part we had the heather, blooming fresh as in Scotland; in the other we had only the meadow grass.

The next letter is written from the hotel on the top of the Rigi, and describes the sail on Lucerne and the ascent of the Rigi. The following extract shows how his spirit was stirred by a sight of the great mountains:—

30*th August* 1861.

We soon left Pilatus, and were away down the lake with its light blue waters, a colour by the way that seems characteristic of all the waters of Switzerland, rivers and lakes as well. As we reach that part of the lake known as the Bay of Uri, the scenery is indescribably splendid. The mountains are piled one beyond the other, as if to show how magnificent is the architecture which has resulted from the great commotions which, by the will of God, heaved up the great mountains. These mighty rocks might have lain quietly and unseen,

beneath an arable surface, on which generations might have grown their crops to feed themselves and their flocks, but God has shown us that our earth is grander far by breaking upon its surface and throwing up the gigantic mountains. "He weigheth the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance." Even they are little in the scales of the Almighty, yet are they grand and "very good" in His sight too. Sailing upon the lake of Lucerne and looking on the mountains around us, we feel ourselves insignificant, and the whole aspect of Nature unspeakably grand and even awful.

The following describes a characteristic incident:—

We left by steamer at 1.15, and reached Weggis, on our return journey up the lake of Lucerne, at three o'clock. Here we disembarked, and having, amidst the loudest clamour and importunity, selected a boy to carry our coats, plaids, and what little baggage we had brought with us, we commenced the ascent of the Rigi, on foot of course. The ladies go chiefly on horseback or are carried in a chair by two men. As soon as we had selected our young porter, one of the disappointed candidates exclaimed, "That boy not goot." Indeed, he began to say so as I turned my eye to the boy, and the exclamation made me select the lad, as I prefer to help the persecuted, one of the points in my democratic tendencies, and not a bad one—is it? The little fellow did his work nobly, and we gave him a clap on the shoulder, and rewarded him with more than we bargained for. In parting on the summit he shook hands with us, and departed in great glee.

The following letter is written from Geneva on the Sabbath, and reveals how his soul was saddened by all that he had seen of the profanation of the Sabbath, and the hollow externalism of Roman Catholic worship.

GENEVA, *1st September* 1861.

I have just been meditating in the retirement of our own room, when all is quiet about me, on the portion of Scripture

read and the subject discoursed upon in the church where we were present as hearers. It may be profitable to me, perhaps interesting and profitable to you, to give you some account of our exercises and of my reflections. As you may conceive, we feel it a great relief and satisfaction, after having our eyes constantly for days past alighting upon crucifixes and altars, burning candles and shrines to the Virgin Mary, and people dipping their fingers in "Holy Water" and making the sign of the Cross over their persons, to be in the midst of abounding Protestant Institutions, where all is so simple, where the people unite together in the praise of God, and are addressed from God's own oracles. Never before have I felt so much as I do now what gratitude is due by us to our Heavenly Father because we have been born in Scotland, with its simple worship and preached Gospel. How miserable is the provision which Roman Catholicism makes for the deepest wants of the human soul, is manifest in these places where its influence is predominant! How little civilisation can do to make up for the want of a religion truly operative on the souls of its professors, is apparent all over the Continent. How much civilisation may aid men in shaking themselves free from religious influence and bringing intoxication of temporal and earthly pleasures, let Paris bear witness, and specially the Parisian Sunday, which is no Sabbath. "Back to the Parisian Sunday again," you will say. Well! I have seen nothing in the course of my life which has sunk into my heart such a sense of deep, dark sadness as that Parisian Sunday. From the time that it opened upon me in the morning, until the darkness covered it up from my sight, when the hateful thing glared forth in all the blaze of abounding gas-light, as if all shame were burned out of that great city, I felt that it was leaving a dark sad impression upon my heart, of which I should not easily shake myself free. I have often stood and looked with a sad heart upon the multitudes in our own Glasgow, who are living in open disregard of God's authority and ordinances, but they have the Gospel freely preached in a hundred churches within easy reach of their own door. If there be among them those who wish to shake themselves free

from the evil influences amongst which they have been born and brought up, they have every facility to aid them in the effort; if they will rush into godlessness and iniquity they must make the way for themselves in their choice of Sabbath desecration. But, ah me! alas for the poor children who are born in Paris, whatever their rank in society. They are from the beginning of life surrounded with influences which train them to utter godlessness. The path to Hell is strewn on every side, all the days of the week and most of all on Sunday, with flowers of pleasure! And as they go on the way, they may turn in occasionally, just for five minutes, into a church, dip their fingers in holy water, touch their forehead, make the sign of the Cross and give themselves up to the soul-destroying delusion that they are holy. But if the poor children, or even the grown men and women, as they become more thoughtful, seek to struggle free from the awful career on which they find themselves launched, they will scarce find a helping hand stretched out to them. I cannot write these things without weeping, and I do not remember to have been before affected in this manner by the evil which I have seen. In Paris, it is not merely the evil which vexes me, but the almost total *hopelessness* of deliverance for the thousands around you. But really, this is too long an introduction to what I meant to speak of, the great relief of being again among Protestant Institutions. You are not to suppose that Geneva is at all like a Scotch city in Sabbath observance—very far from that. Here, too, we have men working at their ordinary occupations, saloons open, and music going, yet the Sabbath desecration is not so offensive and not so turbulent, and what is of great consequence, not by any means so common. Mighty is the difference between Paris and Geneva. Here we have a simple, earnest proclamation of the Gospel, and what I mean to say, and I have only now got the length of saying it, is that I have greatly enjoyed going with the people to-day to the simple Presbyterian services. In the morning, at nine o'clock, we went to the Church of the Oratoire (Evangelical Union), where we heard, though we but partially understood, the Rev. Mr. Bonne of Frankfurt. He read from Isaiah xxxiv., and

lectured from Matthew ix. 1-6. The whole appearance of the congregation was very much like a Seceder Church in Scotland. The service is simple and quite after our form, except that the minister reads the prayer. Such a thing as reading a sermon seems unknown. After the service was over we went to the Church of the Magdalene (National Church), and heard the Rev. M. Tourniet, a very eloquent young man.

The same letter, towards the close, gives an account of the preliminary prayer meeting of the Alliance.

After spending a few hours quietly in our own room, and having dinner, we went to the opening prayer meeting of the Alliance. It was a very singular testimony to the unity of the faith amidst diversity of language. Prayers were offered in French, German, Italian, and English. From that meeting we hastened back again across the Rhone, to a small place near the Church of the Magdalene, reminding me at once of the "upper room" of sacred history, where we had the satisfaction of hearing the Rev. Baptiste Noel preach a most admirable sermon to about a hundred English people or more, from 1 Corinthians iii. 18. I have not listened to anything with so much profit for a long time. It was simple, pointed, and practical. It was in the highest sense delightful, and quite above what mere eloquence could produce.

The regular meetings of the Alliance began on the following morning in the old Cathedral Church of St. Pierre—the church which had long been the headquarters of Presbyterianism in Southern Switzerland, and which contained the pulpit with the canopy under which it was said John Calvin used to preach.

3rd September.

The meeting yesterday was very large, and seemed to increase as the day advanced. The people resident in Geneva seem deeply interested, as they attend the meetings in large numbers. It gets at times rather tiresome to us to

sit and listen when it is with difficulty we pick up scraps of what is being said. The Cathedral is a large imposing structure in the Byzantine style, very well fitted for the rolling notes of the large organ which is in it, but very ill adapted for such meetings as are now being held in it. It is very difficult at times even to hear the speakers, and the heat becoming often oppressive from the strength of the sun and the greatness of the crowd, one feels as if little more were appointed to us than to come as near being stewed as we can bear. The meeting was opened by devotional exercises, conducted by the Rev. M. Coulin Jener, of Geneva, who read the 17th chapter of St. John. The singing without the organ was very hearty, with a fine loud swell. The President delivered his opening address in French, of course, then Sir Culling Eardly followed in French, and all the speaking of the forenoon sederunt, from nine till half-past twelve o'clock, was in the same language. At the latter hour the members and friends, to the number of about three hundred, dined together in a neighbouring casino.

The meeting was resumed in the Cathedral at two o'clock, when we had a long report upon Sabbath observance. Among the subsequent speakers was Dr. Thomson of Edinburgh, who read in English, interpreted as he went on by Fisch of Paris, a very well written paper on the characteristics of our Scottish Sabbath. It was admirably done, and truly this is the land in which to speak of our blessed Scotch Sabbath.

The fifth of September was a public fast, held throughout Switzerland, in commemoration of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. As there were no meetings of the Alliance that day, he, along with many of his fellow-members, spent it in a sail up the Lake of Geneva,—"the most enjoyable day of the whole trip." A most memorable feature of the day's outing was a visit to the famous old castle of Chillon.

5th September.

We enjoyed very much the magnificent scenery at the top of the lake, when the Alpine mountains open up before the

eye in their lowering grandeur and endless ridges. We landed at Chillon, and visited Chillon Castle, a fortified tower of the Dukes of Savoy, built upon the side of the lake, and commanding both the highway and the railway. It was built in 830. One of its occurrences in its history is, that in its dungeons hewn in the rock some thousands of Jews were kept prisoners, and at length were cast out of its windows into the lake. In this same castle Prior Bonnivard was kept chained for six years. We saw the pillar to which he was chained, and the hole he had worn in the ground with his feet. It rouses one's indignation to go through such dungeons and think what multitudes of the human race have endured in such places. We had a most delightful sail down the lake, witnessing from the deck of the steamer a glorious sunset lighting up the whole Alpine range in rich hues, and spreading a ruddy colour even over the snow-clad Mont Blanc, seen in the distance, sitting in majesty, clad in those white robes that are ever pure. On the way down we had an intensely interesting conversation with an English gentleman, possessed of everything that wealth can give, but deeply tried by bereavement, and ever groping for something to supply the void, which he cannot find. God gave us a fine opportunity of opening up the power of the Gospel to him. I shall tell you the particulars when we are permitted to meet, as I hope we soon shall be.

The day after he wrote that letter he left Geneva, although the meetings of the Alliance were not half over; but the duties of his charge summoned him home. His imperfect knowledge of the French language, in which most of the speaking took place, prevented him from enjoying to the full a gathering at which were present many of the intellectual giants of evangelical churches of Christendom — Monod, Merle D'Aubigné, Krummacher, Herzog of Erlangen, Godet, not to speak of Guthrie and Cairns from his own country. The brief visit, however, to the Continent, including pleasant association with many

friends in Geneva, remained throughout life a pleasant memory.

In 1863 he passed through one of the most severe trials of his life in the loss of his father. The relationship between father and son was unusually close. In many respects the two men resembled each other. It was from his father he obtained the stern and unbending adherence to principle that we identify with the old Scottish Covenanters. The vein of true piety in both men ran deep, while neither was given to much speaking about personal experience. They had both the genuine Scotch love of argument. Frequently the father would take a side not wholly congenial, in order to test his son's ability to defend the position attacked. It was in this fashion the Spartan youth were trained to win Thermopylæ. In those early contests, there is doubtless to be found the secret of the remarkable facility in debate manifested even in student days. Both men had been much to one another throughout life: and now that the elder was taken at the comparatively early age of sixty, the blow fell upon the younger with overpowering effect.

17th January 1863.

Our dearly beloved father has gone from us to his place in glory. Mother is a widow, and we are fatherless. We would not, and could not, hesitate to say of his departure, "The will of the Lord be done," but it is a sad, sad trial to be without him. He has made a very glorious change,—and has found relief from oppressive suffering. We thank God for these things, and we are all this morning able to give these thanks very calmly; we could not do it very calmly last night. But we are sorely overcome, when we look around on what is here—and look forward into the future. My poor mother—I cannot write when I think of her; but we will do our utmost to make up the very great want which she must feel: best of all, Jesus will care for her.

This great trial was followed little more than a year later by another, which he felt in even greater degree, the death of his mother. She had been an invalid for over thirty years, and the wonderful patience and exalted piety that she had shown during that long term of trial, had not been without their effect upon her son. No mother ever had son more devoted or more willing to consider her every wish, and no son ever had wiser, more loving, or saintlier mother. Even those who only occasionally visited at the house spoke of her saintly influence. One great desire, long unfulfilled, but gratified before her death, was to hear her son preach. On one occasion, when on a visit to Glasgow, she felt strong enough to be driven down to Greyfriars Church, and there, from a back seat, listened with joy to her son declaring the everlasting Gospel of Christ. She had, however, been always deeply interested in his work, and was well acquainted with all his sermons. Every Monday she received a letter from him, giving an account of the service of the previous day and containing a *résumé* of the sermons. She could count upon this letter arriving to the day, and almost to the hour. When the time came she would get herself carefully dressed, and, sitting up in bed, would listen to its words as one sharing in the service of the house of God.

In the beginning of May 1864, she became so seriously ill that the worst was feared. For nearly a month the battle between life and death proceeded with varying fluctuations. The patience, gentleness, and victorious faith of the sufferer left an undying impression upon all in the house. Now and again gleams of kindly humour lit up the darkest hours. A young lady who lived in the flat above was in the habit of

drumming on the piano in very rough practice, but the invalid would not allow the watchers to ask her to cease. One night, when the infliction had gone on till nearly ten o'clock, she at last said with a smile, "She had better go to bed now, perhaps she'll know it in the morning"; and then added, laughing, "I have gone to bed without my lessons rightly on my mind and could say them all in the morning."

A letter dated 28th May tells that the issue which for some time had been in doubt was at length decided, and that she had entered into her eternal rest:—

> Our dear mother has departed; she is no more with us, but present before the throne, standing near the Redeemer and reunited to the husband whose absence she so greatly deplored. Deep as our grief is, we feel there is cause for great thankfulness when we think of her deliverance from sore and long-continued pain, and her entrance into "the rest which remaineth for the people of God." There is not a little to prompt the desire,—oh! that we were all safely home. What a mother she had been! No words can tell how much I owe to her influence. Much she did in forbearing with us, her children; much she did in the depth of her love, for the training of her children,—much she did in the way of setting a hallowed example before them. Surely her reward is a great one! . . . Mother's face is very sweet and peaceful; it is her own sweet face exactly as when quietly sleeping. The face is thin indeed—how thin it generally was! But it is even thinner than formerly, but quite wears her own benignant expression, which I have so often looked upon with a certain reverence.

Other shadows fell upon him at this time, and he suffered in the suffering of those near and dear to him. It is to those further trials he referred in the following extract:—

1st June 1864.

These are sad times for us, one stroke of bereavement after another coming upon us; but, as the result of all, I hope we shall feel ourselves brought nearer God, and enabled better to look on this scene as temporary, and on the scene beyond as alone satisfying and enduring.

During the whole period of his ministry in Glasgow he had, notwithstanding the heavy and constant demands upon his time, kept closely in touch with philosophical study. In addition to publishing the second edition of the *Philosophy of the Infinite*, a book so changed from its original form as to involve a great amount of labour, he wrote several articles upon philosophical subjects to leading Reviews. When in 1861, by command of the Universities' Commissioners, an examinership in Philosophy was instituted in Glasgow, he received the first appointment. At the close of his three years' term of examinership, the Senatus of the University conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. The following year the Professor of Moral Philosophy fell ill, and at the request of Principal Barclay and other members of the Senatus, Dr. Calderwood undertook the duties of the Chair, and continued to discharge them after Professor Fleming's death. That he did not confine himself to simply reading the late Professor's lectures, but, notwithstanding the claims of his ministerial charge, gave the best of his intellectual strength and made use of distinctive methods in conducting the class, is evidenced by a memorial signed by the students at the close of the session, of which the following is a part:—

With your entrance on the duties of this Chair, our studies at once acquired fresh interest and importance. New life pervaded the class, and quickly manifested itself in the

opinions that were advanced, the difficulties that were started, and the keenness with which disputed points were contested.

We cheerfully and gratefully acknowledge the value of the assistance you have been ready to give us at all times, both in public and private. You have aided us in threading our way through the labyrinth of theories gathered round the various questions of Moral Philosophy; you have encouraged us to break through the leading-strings of systems and authorities, and to grapple boldly with facts for ourselves.

On the Chair becoming vacant, he offered himself as a candidate; and, as he had already made a very distinct impression upon the class, chances of success were considered good. In making application, he described himself as, "by strong conviction, a devoted adherent of the Scottish School of Philosophy." Amongst his testimonials was one from his great opponent, Dean Mansel, who showed considerable magnanimity in declaring that "while he dissented from Mr. Calderwood's conclusions on the question of the knowledge of the Infinite, he believed that the method of his philosophy was sound, and that the tone of it was in accordance with the highest and best interests of man, religious as well as philosophical." Other highly favourable testimonies to his fitness for the post were given by Principal Fairbairn (Free College, Glasgow), his friend Dr. Cairns, and the editor of the *British Quarterly Review*, and by leaders of continental thought like Dorner of Berlin, Ebrard of Erlangen, Erdman of Halle, Tholuck, St. Hilaire, Rémusat, and Victor Cousin.

The choice, however, of the University Court fell upon Mr. Edward Caird, the strongest representative in Scotland of Hegelian Philosophy, which was then rising towards the zenith of its influence. Dr. Calderwood saw in this disappointment an indication

of the will of Him who controls all events, that he should to some extent sever himself from philosophy, in order that he might give himself more exclusively to the great work of the Christian ministry.

The attachment of Greyfriars congregation to his ministry does not seem to have been weakened, but rather increased, by all his interest in, and devotion to, philosophical study. They were proud of the distinction he had acquired and of the fresh honours conferred upon him. In faithful discharge of all his duties to his people he did not slacken his efforts. It is the testimony of all living to-day who were connected with Greyfriars that his hold upon the congregation towards the end of his ministry was greater than at any other period.

When he undertook the onerous duties of Professor Fleming's Chair, the Session of Greyfriars showed a public spirit worthy of all praise in passing a resolution expressing their sense of the high honour conferred upon their minister, and their hope that he would occasionally take a day's rest from pulpit duty.

His success, however, in all those varied fields of effort was being dearly bought. He was beginning to feel that, unless a change could be made in his work, nature would rebel. He often said afterwards that to have continued much longer the amount of work he was carrying on during the closing years of the Glasgow ministry could only have ended in one way.

Early in 1868, the Chair of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh University became vacant by the death of Professor Macdougal. Dr. Calderwood's disappointment in connection with the Glasgow Chair, together with the interpretation of divine leading that he

had put upon it, prevented him from at first making application. Several strong candidates were in the field, notably two—Dr. Hutcheson Stirling and Professor Flint. In connection with the candidature of the former, Thomas Carlyle wrote that he was "the one man in Britain capable of bringing metaphysical philosophy in the ultimate—German or European—and highest actual form of it, distinctly home to the understanding of British men who wish to understand it." Between the supporters of these two candidates feeling ran high, and it soon became evident that parties were about equally balanced. It was at this stage that representations were made to Dr. Calderwood by several Edinburgh gentlemen, amongst whom was a member of the electing body, that he should allow himself to be nominated for the Chair. He no longer hesitated, and thus, somewhat late in the day, entered the field. From this point, all was done that was possible to ensure success. The contest was conducted with unusual keenness; for the friends of the various candidates recognised that the question at issue was not so much one of men as of principles. Each group believed that it would be of incomparable advantage to the University that the school of ethical thought which they favoured should be represented there. When Dr. Calderwood had done all that was necessary in connection with the election, he retired to a quiet holiday retreat on the shores of Loch Goil, there to await the result. The story of how he received the news is thus told by a friend:—

> Once a day the steamer brought the mail from Glasgow, and once a day the pulse of expectation and fear ran high. At length came the day when the news might be expected with some confidence, and from the little house on the shore

a small boat, used for the daily conveyance of letters, put out on a cruise ever memorable to the two occupants, the rower and his wife. The June day was warm and still, the friendly yacht which was to have carried the tidings could not possibly be expected in such a calm; the steamer would bring a letter or a messenger. Already the news was known in Glasgow, and all the people of Old Greyfriars would be talking about it. What was the future to be?

As the little boat neared the beach by the steamer pier, the servant of an old Glasgow friend awaited the arrival with the letter which was to tell their fortune. Hurrying down from the road, too, came a lady with a newspaper. And the news that the appointment was offered fell upon them with strange and mingled feelings. So the boat was pushed off again, and in unbroken silence, save for the slow, rhythmic beat of the oars, the return voyage was accomplished. The letter was from his friend, Mr. Barnett, and contained a telegram which had been sent to him at Cove, from Edinburgh: "Dr. Calderwood elected to the Chair. Vote four to three. Election not over till 5.40." And the letter along with it, as coming from an elder of Greyfriars and a staunch supporter, was at once congratulatory and sorrowful:—

'Who shall estimate the value of your appointment to this Chair? God grant you great success, great wisdom and humility in your new sphere, and, as for our dear Greyfriars, our Father will still guide us.'

The official letter intimating the appointment arrived a few days later, and was in the following terms:—

I beg to inform you that, at the meeting of the Curators of the University of Edinburgh, held this day (18th June 1868), you were elected Professor of Moral Philosophy in room of the late Professor Macdougal.

On receiving from you a letter intimating your acceptance of the appointment, the commission in your favour will be prepared.—I am, Rev. sir, your most obedient servant,

RT. BRUCE JOHNSTON,
Hon. Secy.

In deciding to accept the appointment to the Chair of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh University, two considerations weighed with him. The change of sphere offered a way out of an accumulation of labours which had become too onerous, and yet any part of which he would have found the greatest difficulty in giving up. Added to this was the still stronger consideration that he believed that, as teacher of Moral Philosophy to hundreds of youths, of whom many would yet occupy spheres of great influence, he could carry out his chief aim in life as truly as if he remained in the pastorate. He reckoned himself a minister of Jesus Christ to the end, and that when he went to Edinburgh he changed only the method of service.

He often said in after-life that he would not have accepted a Chair in the University if he had not believed that he could serve the cause of the Master as efficiently there as in the regular ministry.

In the congratulatory letters that poured in from all sides, it is remarkable how frequently this note of continued service for Christ is struck. Principal M'Cosh, of Princeton University, wrote :—

> What a glorious field God has opened to you!
>
> There is a dark thread running through the white of my feeling in consequence of your appointment. I looked to you as my successor, and had laid plans to secure it. You would have had the support of the College and of my old pupils in the Presbyterian Church. As it is, I am now fairly at sea.

John Veitch, his old college friend and fellow-townsman, wrote :—

> I am very glad Edinburgh has got so good a man as I have no doubt you will prove yourself to be, and that one important philosophical chair has not fallen to young Oxford.

James Robertson, of Newington, the children's preacher writes :—

> My beloved Brother—I write with heart and eyes full —literally weeping for joy. The hand of the Lord has been in it very clearly—in all its stages. His shall be the praise! Ten thousand blessings rest ever on you all.

Dr. Calderwood accepted the appointment to the University Chair in June, but at the strongly expressed desire of his people in Greyfriars, he continued to minister to them until October. The wrench from his Glasgow congregation and all the work carried on for years by him there, was exceedingly trying, but he had compensation in the thought that he was going back to the beautiful city where he had spent the early days of youth, and which he ever regarded with fond admiration. He was looking forward also to a life that was to be spent in guiding the thoughts and forming the ideals of the select youth of the land, and that, with the strong attachment that had always existed between him and young men, possessed a great fascination.

The pain of parting was no less severely felt by the congregation, but they too were animated by a fine Christian spirit. The oldest member of Session expressed the feelings of the whole people when he said that if, in the providence of God, they were to be deprived of Dr. Calderwood's services, he had no doubt it would be for the benefit of the Church at large; and wherever he went or in whatever sphere of usefulness he might engage, he would carry with him the sincere sympathy and earnest prayers of all the people.

Dr. Calderwood's departure from the city in October 1868, was made the occasion of a remarkable mani-

festation of public regard. At a valedictory meeting of the congregation held in the City Hall, which was crowded from floor to ceiling, a handsome present was made to him ; and the strongest evidence afforded of the warmth of his people's affection and their good wishes for his future career.

A more unexpected token of the place which he held in men's esteem was given by the members of Presbytery, who subscribed for a handsome parting gift, which was duly presented with many congratulatory speeches, at their monthly dinner. In a large Presbytery like that of Glasgow, men come and go ; and the most that can be reasonably expected on the departure of a member is a few kindly words, in which his brethren wish him God-speed. The fact that the usual practice was departed from, and more especially in the case of one whose ministry had only covered a period of twelve years, was a striking testimony to the high place he held in the regard of his brethren and their appreciation of the work which he had done for the city and for the Church. But perhaps the most remarkable gift of all was that which came from the citizens of Glasgow, including men of all denominations, who presented him with an address, a silver salver, and a purse of three hundred sovereigns. At the presentation, which took place in the Religious Institution Rooms, many leading citizens were present, including the members of Parliament for the city. Principal Fairbairn (Glasgow) struck the right note when he declared : " I rejoice, not because in him a Christian minister has obtained an academical distinction, but because a Christian philosopher has had a sphere of important labour opened to him, which he is pre-eminently fitted to occupy."

In the address which was presented, and in all the speeches, reference was made to what he had done for the social and spiritual welfare of the city :—

In addition to your ministerial work, the address declares, you have, during that time, taken a deep and active interest in our charitable and benevolent institutions, and in various schemes which had for their object the moral, intellectual, and social advancement of the community. The catholicity of spirit, the wisdom, energy, and zeal which you have uniformly manifested, have merited our admiration and gratitude. We are now to be deprived of your valuable services ; but, while for our own sakes we deeply regret your departure from amongst us, we at the same time greatly rejoice in the occasion of it.

In his reply, Dr. Calderwood said :—

It has been my good fortune to hold a charge in this city in the highest degree attractive and encouraging to me ; and by means of my connection with that charge I have been introduced to a position which has given me the best opportunity for gaining acquaintance with the city. That acquaintance has filled me with admiration of its commercial life and its large-hearted benevolence. I have accounted it a peculiar honour to enjoy the friendship of so many of its well-known citizens, and have felt nothing but admiration in seeing with what a willing heart and liberal hand they are ready to sustain every effort which gives reasonable promise of increasing the comforts and advantages of those less favoured in position. Throughout my ministry, I have considered that I was the servant, not merely of the congregation over which I presided, nor of the denomination to which I belonged, but of the city as a whole. I have, therefore, held myself under obligation, when pastoral engagements left me free, to answer every call to take part in any of the charitable and benevolent schemes so numerous in the city. What work I undertook in this way always carried its own reward. But since you have taken this

generous method of expressing satisfaction with my humble efforts, I accept it as confirmation of my settled conviction of the willingness of the merchants of Glasgow, in the midst of avowed diversities of opinion, to judge leniently of the imperfections and errors of public men, and to encourage them in patient effort for the good of the poor, the tempted, and the suffering.

The united testimony of public regard indicated in these various presentations, it is given to few men to receive. Henry Calderwood came to the city a young man of twenty-six, to a congregation whose historic position many thought he would be unable to maintain. He succeeded a man whose eloquence in the pulpit and on the platform was famed, not only in Glasgow, but throughout the country. Twelve years later he laid down his trust, with a record of work, ministerial, public, philosophical, philanthropic, which several men together might have been proud to have accomplished.

That position he had gained by unsurpassed diligence, by the manifestation of a character transparent, courageous, and spiritual, and by a life devoted to the highest interests of the people.

CHAPTER VIII

RESIDENCE IN EDINBURGH AND UNIVERSITY LIFE

The new home—George Lawrie—Introductory lecture—Controversy as to teaching of political economy—Home life—Reading—The Moral Philosophy class—Interest in students—A proposed Lectureship in Psychology.

THE Professors of Edinburgh University are not provided with official residences. On removing from Glasgow it therefore became possible for Professor and Mrs. Calderwood to select their house on the extreme outskirts of the Merchiston district. Professor Calderwood had a horror of living in a street where he could not go out to breathe the fresh air apart from the accompaniments of flagstones and the noise of traffic. A house was bought in Napier Road, which then separated Merchiston from the open country. From the windows of Craigrowan, as the house was called, the Pentland Hills, Craiglockhart, and the Dalmahoys were in full view to the south and west, while to the north, beyond Corstorphine and the more distant Firth of Forth, lay the long line of the Fife shore and the Ochils. The unpretentious stable, which had to be built, and the garden, were put under the charge of George Lawrie, the kind-hearted and faithful servant, who continued as one of the family from this time till

after his master's death, a period of about thirty years. Never did a servant more truly reverence and love his master. In time he became a sort of guardian and companion to his master's children, teaching them to ride, playing games with them in his spare time—and sometimes perhaps when he could not spare the time—learning to row and to fish in order to go out little expeditions with them. Few there were who visited at Craigrowan or lived in the neighbourhood who did not know George, and we cannot but mention him here. He was one of those rare souls who bear their kindly purpose on their faces. Strangers did not hesitate to waylay him in order that he might doctor their pets. When his master died George's aspect of life changed. He seemed broken-hearted, and we think he never quite got over the shock. Already he lies buried where he desired to be—near his master.

Residence at Craigrowan was fairly established in the autumn of 1868, and Professor Calderwood was already busy with the preparation for his new sphere of work.

The subject chosen for the inaugural lecture was the somewhat general one of "Moral Philosophy as a Science and as a Discipline." The choice of such a subject, however, had the special advantage of enabling the lecturer to show clearly to what school he belonged. The candidates had represented opposing lines of thought, and it was probably deemed advisable, in view of the fact that a Professor's opening lecture is delivered in the presence of the Principal and representatives of the Senatus, as well as any members of the public specially interested, that this lecture should indicate the new Professor's position. In the *Philosophy of the Infinite* Mr. Calderwood had, as it were, nailed his colours

to his mast, and now, as Professor in Edinburgh, his colours are still flying. After defining the aims and features of philosophy, and drawing a distinction between the intellectual and the ethical branches of the subject, the lecture proceeded as follows:—

From this outline of the region of inquiry, it is plain that moral philosophy runs for a long way conterminous with revealed religion. Of high consequence it is, therefore, for the two to harmonise with each other, that the border-land may not be the scene of contention, but of friendly relations. It must be reckoned nothing less than a calamity that the philosophy of our country should sever itself from the religion of the country, as if philosophy were afraid to come near to the territory of religion, or religion feared the approach of philosophy. There can be nothing but gain if the philosophy of the country be distinguished by a religious spirit. The philosophic spirit, in its high and noble sense, reverence for truth, is indeed *identical* with the religious spirit, reverence for God. It is, therefore, altogether a poor account of philosophy if it shrink from sustaining a spiritual religion. It is a poor account of the religion of any land if it fear the investigations of philosophy. Whatever be thought of many of the theories of Plato, it hardly admits of doubt that the grandeur of the Platonic system is discovered in its testimony that philosophy reaches its highest result in God. If modern philosophy fall beneath this, it suffers by contrast with the ancient. It is the glory of our own land to be distinguished pre-eminently for its philosophy and for its religion. I shall not be thought to summon a witness biassed in our favour, if I quote the testimony of an English philosopher distinguished for his antagonism to the Scottish philosophy, who has said that "almost everything which has been contributed from these islands towards the advancement of psychology since Locke and Berkeley, has, until very lately, and much of it in the present generation, proceeded from Scottish authors and Scottish professors."[1] As little will the disinterestedness of

[1] Mill, *Inaugural Address at St. Andrews.*

the witness be questioned concerning the religion of our land if I quote from a well-known French author, who, while considering that the religious spirit of Scotland has been led astray since the Reformation, nevertheless affirms of that religious spirit that "in spite of its own rigid narrowness, it remains still so powerful, so popular, so fruitful, and so free."[1] Receiving such testimony from witnesses so distinguished and disinterested, we may well desire that our country may long retain its double honour in philosophic and religious eminence.

After thus indicating what he ever felt to be the necessarily close connection between philosophy and religion, he deals further with the history of the subject, and refers again to the national standpoint.

The Scottish philosophy may be said to owe its origin to conflict. It sprang up under the necessity which the nation felt for delivering itself from the disorder and uncertainty which a philosophical scepticism showed itself competent to bring about with the materials afforded to it by an empirical philosophy. The dangers which threatened were, on the one hand, an intellectual scepticism; on the other, a utilitarian system of morals: on the one hand, the loss of the real in the phenomenal; on the other, the loss of an immutable morality in a higher or lower type of utility. The success of the Scottish philosophy in averting these dangers, has been acknowledged by competent witnesses, and has its own lasting testimony in the abiding faith of the nation. There is no need that I dwell on that success here. Perhaps, however, in justice to an opposite school of thought, I should remark that Mr. George Henry Lewes, in dealing very shortly with the philosophy of Reid, says, "It is unnecessary to pursue the criticism of a system which has *long since ceased to have any adherents.* The psychology of the Scotch school, though containing much available matter for students, *is entirely defunct as a*

[1] Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vol. iii.

doctrine. It failed, as it deserved to fail."[1] I believe there is no need that any one should answer this.

But what I ask you to notice is, that the philosophy of our land is most fully developed at those points around which controversy has been waged. It is easy to enumerate the most prominent of these:—On the intellectual side, the existence of mind and of matter; and in mind, of first principles of knowledge: on the ethical side, the nature of the moral faculty, the foundation of virtue, and the freedom of the will. On reflection, it will appear that the Scottish philosophy is defective mainly in regard to questions which the necessities of conflict did not raise into importance, and in regard to the far-reaching and finer applications of its own principles. In working towards its completion, there is need for systematising the materials which lie ready to our hand, and for carefully prosecuting investigation along every line upon which further inquiry can be directed. Those who are coming fresh to the study of moral philosophy may be assured of interest, both on account of the nature of the problems to be dealt with, and on account of the stretch of territory still partially surveyed. If I shall be enabled to afford direction and help to such students, I shall account myself privileged to render some important service to the cause of truth. On my task I enter with great diffidence, when I think of the renowned investigators who have occupied this chair, including names so distinguished as those of Ferguson, Stewart, Brown, Wilson, and Macdougal. My desire is to be swayed by the earnestness of spirit which they manifested; and, in that spirit, to follow in the work which they have so greatly simplified.

Taking up the last section of his subject, he at the same time identifies himself anew with the Scottish philosophy.

As a mental discipline, the investigations of the problems of moral philosophy must take rank among the most valuable. Whether, according to the English method, the student read first in the history of the science, and afterwards seek definite

[1] *History*, vol. ii. p. 239.

conclusions in which his own mind may rest; or, according to the Scotch method, deal first and independently with the problems themselves, and afterwards contemplate the various answers to them which the history of the science presents,—the gain to intellect and to character must be great. While freely granting that special advantages belong to each of the methods named, I unhesitatingly express my preference for that which has been uniformly pursued in our Scottish Universities.

[Special reference is made to this question of teaching; and quotations are given, in the special chapter by Professor Pringle-Pattison.]

Apart, however, from the different methods of training which may be adopted, it is to be observed that there are facilities connected with the study of moral philosophy, peculiar to it on account of its being a practical as well as a speculative science. While ordinary thought and experience are remote from metaphysical speculation, they are closely related to a large department of ethical inquiry. On this account moral philosophy readily gathers materials from the events of common life. . . .

If in this way ethical philosophy and political economy are closely connected with everyday life, there is an obvious value in their study as a preparatory training for the several professions. Moral philosophy has numerous connecting bonds with medical science, and specially with the department of medico-psychology, which requires intimate acquaintance with both intellectual and moral philosophy; with law, concerned as legal practice is with the various applications of the cardinal virtue of justice; and with theology, offering as that does a Divine revelation to meet the wants of our present moral condition.

Even irrespective of these practical applications, however, it must be plain that the study of this science is fitted to be a most valuable discipline. Man's moral nature is the highest element in his greatness. The problems which concern that nature embrace among them the loftiest with which the

human mind can deal. The influence of the study is, therefore, in the direction equally of intellectual and of moral culture. It concerns, as Plato has said, "the plan of life" (*βίου διαγωγή*), and, as he has shown, it is required of us that we deal seriously with such study. Reid has well said, "Every man must acknowledge that to act properly is much more valuable than to think justly, or reason acutely." It is not to be forgotten, indeed, that a man needs to think correctly, and reason accurately, in order to act properly; but it cannot be doubted that to act rightly is the highest aim in life. Without meaning to institute comparisons between the several sciences; and holding that they are not to be set in antagonism to each other, but are all to be accounted necessary for a discovery of the unity of truth; I consider that arguments are not needed to prove that a special grandeur belongs to moral philosophy,—a science which treats of right and wrong; of individual character and conduct; of social interests and obligations; and, above all, of man's relation to eternity and to God.

In these terms he announced his own leanings with regard to the main lines of the subject which he had been appointed to teach from this time forth.

During the first year of the Edinburgh work, however, a disagreeable incident arose in connection with the teaching of political economy in the University. In the early days, the Professor of Moral Philosophy was regarded as also the teacher of political economy. Candidates had applied for the Chair as embracing the two subjects. The habit of the Professoriate had, however, been to ignore entirely the secondary subject of political economy. No doubt the official arrangement of the University was clumsy and impracticable for the proper conduct of a moral philosophy class during the winter session. Dugald Stewart and Brown did not teach the subject at all, and for many years "Christopher North" followed their example. But in his University

career, as in that of Henry Calderwood, a difficulty arose. The cases were not strictly analogous. In the *Life of Professor Wilson* (vol. ii. p. 83) we have the following reference to the earlier case: "A proposal was made that a separate Chair of Political Economy should be instituted in the University of Edinburgh, and that the appointment should be conferred upon Mr. J. R. M'Culloch, then editor of the *Scotsman* newspaper. Wilson's professorship combined the two subjects of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy, but up to this period he had not lectured on the latter topic; he therefore resented the movement as an interference with his vested rights, and by appealing to Government succeeded in crushing the project."

In the case of Henry Calderwood the proposal was not that of creating an entirely new Chair. As we shall see, he would have entered no protest against such a proposal, since in his opinion the teaching capacity of the University would thereby have been benefited. The arrangement come to after the protest of Wilson, was that the Professor should be required "to set apart one day of each week in alternate sessions to Lectures on Political Economy," a plan which was likely to interfere with the moral philosophy without doing anything like justice to the subject of political economy. But, on 4th October 1869, the University Court asked the Principal to deliver a course of lectures on political economy without first dealing with the existing arrangement, or referring in any way to the Professor whose duty it appeared to be to teach the subject. The Principal agreed to deliver the lectures, and the position of the Professor of Moral Philosophy was thus, though perhaps unwittingly, rendered somewhat ridiculous.

The sudden proposal of the Court came as a

complete surprise, but on investigation it became sufficiently clear that the Court had privately arranged the matter before the decision was announced. It was felt to be not only an entirely irregular procedure, but a singular interference with the interests of the Professor of Moral Philosophy, involving the future condition of the Chair; and for those reasons an emphatic protest was entered against the action of the Court.

To deputies from the Committee of the Court, who called on him a week later, Professor Calderwood announced his conviction that he had no right, either for himself or for his successors, to give this matter into the hands of the Court, and that he would resist the proposal as an illegal encroachment on his commission. He subsequently took an opportunity of pointing out to the Court that that body had itself resolved only two years before, "that until the funds necessary for the endowment of a separate Professorship are obtained, it is desirable that the subject be taught in the Chair of Moral Philosophy as hitherto"; that he had entirely concurred with the proposal to appoint a special Professor, but could not consent to a proposal which simply transferred the subject into the hands of another member of the University; and further, that although Section V. of the Universities (Scotland) Act stated that "the Principal shall be bound to undertake and perform such duties of teaching and lecturing" as may be assigned by the Court, the Court had no power to appoint the Principal to lecture on any subject entrusted to a Professor. The case had now become so critical that the Court prepared a memorial, and asked the opinion of counsel as to whether or not the Professor of Moral Philosophy had the sole right of teaching political economy; and if

not, had he such right in virtue of his commission, considered in connection with the Court's previous resolution; and whether in the circumstances the Court was entitled to carry out its resolution of 4th October 1869.

On these points the Solicitor-General gave his opinion as follows:—

I am of opinion that the Professor of Moral Philosophy has not the sole right of teaching political economy. His commission does not embrace this right, and I do not see anything in the practice of the University which has attached political economy to the Chair of Moral Philosophy. I do not think that the Professor could be compelled to teach political economy, and, therefore, in my opinion he cannot claim the exclusive right of teaching it.

I think, therefore, that the Court are entitled to carry out their resolution of 4th October 1869.

The opinion of
AND. R. CLARK.

17 GREAT STUART STREET,
EDINBURGH, *1st November* 1869.

The University Court therefore resolved—

First. To assign to the Principal, in terms of Section V. of the Universities (Scotland) Act, the duty of lecturing on political economy, provided always that this Resolution shall not be held to interfere with such right as the Professor of Moral Philosophy possesses to deliver lectures on political economy, so far as it may be proper to include that subject in a course of lectures on moral philosophy.

Second. To require the Principal to undertake such duty during the present session.

Third. To remit to the Senatus Academicus to make such arrangements as may be necessary to give effect to this Resolution, and to consider and report to the Court what fees should, in their opinion, be sanctioned by the Court for the course of lectures to be delivered.

This has the ring of finality about it, but with characteristic fearlessness and determination Henry Calderwood maintained his own consideration of the matter, and decided again to take exception to it. He tackled the legal point on its own merits, and prepared a memorandum. This he had the perspicuity to address not to the Court but to the Senatus, to whom the Court would remit their resolutions. In this printed letter he concludes by summing up his arguments as follows :—

I. That by the Universities (Scotland) Act, . . . the Court, without consulting with the Senatus, has power to appoint the Principal to lecture on any subject not provided for in the curriculum.

II. That by the said Act the Court has no power to appoint either the Principal or any other person to a lectureship upon any subject entrusted to a Professor.

III. That if the Court propose to institute a lectureship on any subject, or even department of a subject, entrusted to a Professor, it can do so only under Section XII., Clause 2, wherein the Court is empowered "to effect improvements in the internal arrangements of the University, after due communication with the Senatus Academicus, and with the sanction of the Chancellor; provided that all such proposed improvements shall be submitted to the University Council for their consideration."

IV. That, while the Court has, by the Act aforesaid, power to appoint the Principal to lecture, it has no power, either by the said Act, or by the arrangements of the Commissioners, or by the commission of the Principal, to assign fees for such teaching; but such teaching, at the call of the Court, is part of the duties of the office of Principal, under which "the fees and emoluments of the said office" are secured to the Principal.

Finally he reminds the Senatus of their duty "to superintend and regulate the teaching and discipline

of the University," and requests specially that they do not give effect to the resolution of the Court.

This fearless action produced its result, and perhaps temporarily embittered several members of Court. The Solicitor-General's opinion had been replied to in a rather formidable manner; the prop upon which it rested, the assumed power of the Court to carry out its resolutions, had been knocked away.

After some breathing time, a deputation of the Senatus appeared before the Court. On the evening of 10th January 1870, one of the deputies writes as follows:—

My dear Calderwood—We three left the Court at ten minutes past five to-day, after having been there from half-past three. The business, while we were present, consisted of our statement to the Court, and a chat thereon between us and the Court. . . . All the members of the Court were there except the Lord Justice Clerk; but the Lord Provost went away early, and none of the members except those mentioned said anything. . . . The upshot, communicated to us at the close by Mr. Gordon (I suppose, by agreement before we went in; Mr. Gordon acting as spokesman, in lieu of the Principal, who was in the chair, but abstained from all share in the talk), was this: The Court wish you and the Senatus to understand that the whole thing is (in) abeyance for this session. Nothing will be done this session in the way of calling on the Principal to lecture; and the entire subject stands over for further consideration. This is the form in which they put it. Whether they mean this as a mode of withdrawal *in toto* I don't know; perhaps so, or they may really want to think over things again. . . .

The following spring, in deference to a resolution of the Court dated 14th April 1870, an intimation inserted in the University Calendar for 1870-71, that the Professor of Moral Philosophy would conduct a class

of political economy was not given effect to, nor was the teaching in connection with the subject ever again referred to until it was placed on a proper footing by the creation of the present Chair. The outline of the whole controversy has been referred to here because the ordeal sufficiently proved that the young Professor of Philosophy was possessed of great courage and of acute forensic power, and as time went on and it became apparent that he harboured no ill-feeling against those who had so strenuously tried to overcome him, his position in the University was improved rather than impaired by the struggle. Happily, this seems to have been the only storm which beset the commencement of his University Professorship.

Calderwood soon began to add to his published works. In 1872 his *Handbook of Moral Philosophy* appeared, reference to which, as to his other works, will be found in the contribution by his colleague, Professor Seth Pringle-Pattison. Two years later, in 1874, the little work *On Teaching* was published. Reference to this has already been made in the first chapter. It was dedicated to the members of the first School Board of the City of Edinburgh, of which Board Professor Calderwood was then Chairman.

As the work of the moral philosophy class developed, it became necessary, in the opinion of the Professor, to refer more and more fully to the physical aspects of mental activity. A papier-maché model of the human brain was introduced into the class-room early in the course, and the primary divisions of the central nervous system and their functions were explained. Later, diagrams illustrative of nerve structure and of the intercommunication of parts, and drawings of the brains of several animals, replaced the papier-maché model. To

the belief in the value of an elementary knowledge of the physiology of the nervous system to the students of mental philosophy, we must attribute the commencement of Professor Calderwood's work on the discussion of scientific results in their bearing upon the higher faculties of man. The taking up of scientific subjects, widely apart as they were from any previous line of his study, required no small amount of courage in one already much occupied, for not only was a vast amount of study necessary, but the aim which he apparently had in view meant the unbiassed investigation of questions which were then dealt with by specialists often antagonistic to religion. All spare time was, however, eagerly devoted to this new line of work. In the domain of anatomy he was greatly assisted by his colleague, Professor, now Sir W., Turner, while in his study of physiology advice was freely given by the late Professor Rutherford. Years were spent in obtaining a sound working knowledge of such subjects as were necessary for the full understanding of a scientific theory of "mental life," and ultimately he began to write. The book was published in 1879, and was entitled *The Relations of Mind and Brain.* To many who did not know how closely the scientific aspects of the question had been studied, the work must have come as a surprise. It was reviewed at great length and described as a great work, and a second edition was so soon demanded that considerable delay occurred in its publication, owing to the author being anxious to include a more complete study of animal intelligence. The plan of the book was first to demonstrate the latest results of scientific research as to the structure and functions of the central nervous system, and second, to bring into prominence the particular

aspects of human life which, the writer held, could not be accounted for by anatomical and physiological science.

A further indication of the value he set upon knowledge of the scientific basis of mind action may be gathered from the fact that in the fourteenth edition of his *Handbook*, published in 1888, he introduced figures illustrative of the histology and physiology of nerve tissue. These remained in the three subsequent editions.

The fourteenth edition contained new matter of other kinds, which are referred to by Prof. Seth Pringle-Pattison in the special chapter at the end of this volume. The book has been largely used in America and in Australasia.

With reference to the actual work of the moral philosophy class, to the influence of the Professor upon the students, and to kindred topics, we are fortunate in being able to introduce two contributions from men well qualified to judge. Special interest attaches to both. Professor James Seth, who kindly furnishes the first contribution, was formerly an assistant in the logic class, and now succeeds Professor Calderwood in the Chair of Moral Philosophy. He assisted his predecessor in the revision of the fourth edition of Fleming's *Vocabulary of Philosophy*. Mr. Charles Douglas was assistant during the closing years. He has since taken his seat in the House of Commons as member for North-west Lanark.

Professor Seth writes :—

My recollection of the moral philosophy class belongs to the session of 1878-79,—Professor Calderwood's eleventh session in the Chair. It was the time when the number of students at the Scottish Universities was approaching its maximum, and the attendance in the moral philosophy class was over 150. The large class-room seemed quite full. By this time Professor Calderwood's reputation as a teacher had been long established, and we entered the class with a pretty

definite expectation of the Professor and his work. One of his best-known and most appreciated characteristics was the very unusual one, that he knew every member of his large class individually. Any student who had not heard of this peculiar gift was liable to be surprised, within a day or two of the opening of the session, by hearing himself addressed by name, and a novel and kindly feature was the dropping of the "Mr." To this individual knowledge of his students, as well as to the obvious moral earnestness of the man, was due the perfect discipline which prevailed in Professor Calderwood's class-room. The keenness of his opening lecture, which was generally devoted to the discussion of some recent contribution to his subject, invariably awakened the interest and earned the respect of the class; and never, throughout the session, was there any wavering in the interest or any diminution of the respect. In his relation to his class there was something very human, as in the rule of a wise and kindly father, and a subtle influence for good, which the most careless student could not escape. The most important educative influence was the personality of the Professor, and it was a unique and commanding personality.

The personal relation was shown in many ways. The lecture was felt to be too impersonal a medium of communication, and the needful complement of it was found in the oral examination on prescribed portions of the *Handbook*, to which two hours in the week were devoted. Then the subject was full of controversy, and we were made to feel that it did not matter so much whether we agreed with the Professor or differed from him, so long as we could show reasons for disagreement. The Professor himself seemed to court opposition, and to delight in the argument for its own sake. Nothing pleased him better than an occasional *impromptu* discussion, if he could find a student bold enough to argue with him the merits of his own views of Utilitarianism, Intuitionism, or Determinism. In these discussions the class was uniformly impressed by his perfect fairness, his great patience and gentleness, and, it is almost needless to add, the opinion of the class was almost invariably, and always before the end of the discussion, on the Professor's side of the question.

The emphasis of Professor Calderwood's teaching was upon the more theoretical and even metaphysical phases of his subject. But we knew of his own keen interest in social and practical questions, of the important part he took in the ecclesiastical and political life of the country, of the time and strength he gave to all manner of philanthropic effort. We thought of him as Oxford men thought of Green, as a man whose interest in moral questions was not merely speculative or academic, and whose sense of the duties of citizenship was of the highest; and we admired the courage which led him to identify himself with causes which to a less chivalrous nature might well have seemed unacademic, recognising in his devotion to such causes the same broad human interest and the same exacting ideal of duty which were manifested in his philosophical teaching.

Professor Calderwood's interest in the social life of the University as a whole was also well known to us. On occasion he would refer to some important academic event in terms which convinced us of his genuine interest in our affairs. As time went on, the students came more and more to recognise in him a man who understood them and sympathised with their life in all its varied interests, and learned to love and honour him accordingly.

But his interest in his students did not stop here. He welcomed us to his house, and made us feel how genuine the welcome was. I remember how well on such occasions the Professor's keen eye for the individual was wont to serve him, how no student was overlooked, and how merrily the evening went. Professor Calderwood's evening parties were among the pleasantest social features of a University life which possessed too few features of the kind, and among the most delightful memories of the moral philosophy class.

How hard our Professor worked for us we could not fail to know, and the knowledge made us work all the better for him. Every essay we wrote for him—and there were five in the course of the session—bore the marks, when returned to its owner, of the Professor's careful consideration, and always at the end, some critical summary initialled "H. C."

When the closing day of the session came, and, after

presenting the medals and prizes, Professor Calderwood dismissed us to the work of life, it was not merely with a new knowledge of his own particular subject, but with a new sense of the seriousness of life, and with a new resolve to live worthily of the spirit which had breathed in all his moral teaching, and of which he seemed to us to be the very impersonation.

Mr. Charles Douglas writes :—

I have been asked to give some account of the work which the late Professor Calderwood did as a teacher, and while it is not possible that I should offer any full description of that work, nor seemly that I should pretend to estimate its value, yet I cannot but accept the invitation to record some of the impressions which I retain of the eleven years during which I was first his pupil and afterwards his assistant. It is natural that my mind should go back to my first recollection of him as a teacher.

The quality which most vividly impressed me when I first heard him lecture was his singular and imperturbable calm. He had the demeanour of a man completely at ease in the work which lay to his hand. His treatment of his subject was not that of an exploring mind endeavouring to create points of light in a difficult labyrinth. It was the deliberate exposition of a theory. His mind was beset by no doubt of that theory. The reality and significance of those moral issues which were his theme never appeared to him to be less than absolute, and his mind never entertained any doubt that a true and consistent theory of them was possible. He spoke, therefore, as one certain of a result, and his attitude towards his class reflected his belief in the worth of that result and in the possibility of attaining it. There never was a man more "apt to teach" than he. That which he had to teach combined, in his opinion of it, the simple demonstrable truth of science and the sanctity of a support to man's spiritual endeavour. He laboured, in his class-room, to produce and to enlarge a conviction—not only a theory, for his teaching was penetrated by a moral faith remote from speculative impartiality—not only an enthusiasm, for it was his sober creed that enthusiasms wither and die when they

are not rooted in knowledge and understanding His object as a teacher was to justify and to develop a reasoned conviction expressed in theory and inspired by moral purpose; and he gave himself to this object with an unstinted energy. To his students, therefore, he was always and obviously the resolute exponent of a definite system of opinion. He threw himself on their intelligence. He fought for their assent—determined to convince them, and allowing no objection that they raised to pass uncontested. The moral philosophy class-room was never the home of an idle uniformity of opinion. From the first day of the session there was waged in it a controversy which took end only when the session itself passed out in that stormy hour with which Scottish students have from time immemorial parted from their much-enduring teachers. It was a controversy which centred round the Professor. Beset alternately by those to whom a theory of morality appeared to be something of a sacrilege, by the grumbling Utilitarians, by the superior Idealists, he seemed to revel in each fresh encounter. The class (sometimes in its mood more like a political meeting than an assembly devoted to cold philosophy) watched with an interest that was often breathless the never-ending contention; and day by day the Professor brought his argument to the point at which he had originally intended to arrive.

The freedom of his relations with his class was an instance of Professor Calderwood's easy and conspicuous courage; and if one were to name the quality which most definitely marked his work as a teacher, I think one could name none more characteristic than this.

It was the source of that singular tenacity with which he held his opinions. He taught during years in which great changes of thought and temper affected the discussion of morality. From many minds the idea of morality itself was for the time obliterated by the new-found joy of ingenious explanations of it. I shall say nothing of Professor Calderwood's treatment of these explanatory theories; for it is not my task to estimate his contribution to philosophy. But it will not be suggested that he was indifferent to them or unaffected by them; and that exaltation of moral experience

as a factor in the problem of philosophy, which was characteristic of his work as a teacher, shows not, indeed, that he was obstinately blind to the difficulty of that problem, but that he was a man too courageous to adopt a theory merely because it was easy.

For my own part, I think his success as a teacher owed much to the degree and to the manner in which he was dominated by moral and religious faith.

The Scottish Universities have never lacked, nor do they now, men similarly endowed. But among their Professors I think there have, in recent times, been few who have been in such intimate and natural sympathy with the forms of religious faith and expression which are most characteristic of Scottish, and especially of Scottish country life. It has always been the high task of the Scottish Universities to educate the whole people of the country, and to attract to themselves the sons of simple and unlearned men, whose energy has been inspired by religious faith. Such students as these, when they came to Professor Calderwood's class, knew that they were in contact with one who simply and sincerely shared with them the faith in which they had been trained, and who ungrudgingly and unreservedly lived under its inspiration. It was natural that they should look with peculiar confidence to his treatment of a subject which, more perhaps than any other in their academic course, might seem to bear a close relation to their religious beliefs.

The unostentatious piety of his mind and the simplicity of his life endeared him especially to those who came to Edinburgh from homes in the country, where the traditions of Scottish faith and manners had remained unaltered.

There are some great teachers of philosophy whose success lies in the intellectual ambition which they stimulate in their most gifted students; there are others who do their best work in forming intellectual habits by which the wisdom of a generation is strengthened, or in the contribution which they make to the development of the character of their pupils. It is idle to ask which of these very diverse aims and achievements is greater; but Professor Calderwood's work as a teacher undoubtedly contributed more to the mind and character of

the general body of his students than to the special interests of a few; and it would be difficult to overestimate the advantage to his students and to Scotland of that patient sympathy with the "average man" which never failed him. He could not have done what he did if he had been in less complete accord than he was with the national and religious life of Scotland; and the foundations of his success as a teacher were laid in the strength and tenacity of mind which he showed in his refusal to surrender, or forget the facts of moral experience merely because it was difficult to explain them.

Perhaps an even more conspicuous instance of his courage is to be found in his never-failing tolerance. I have never known any one who, with opinions so definitely and tenaciously held, was so little of a bigot. His tolerance had nothing but its name in common with that easy and good-natured apathy which ignores differences in order to avoid unpleasant discoveries or to evade the discussion of a loosely-held opinion. It was sheer courage and justice. It was simply the willingness of a self-possessed and fearless man to allow every opinion the fullest scope. He never had any doubt that the right opinion would prevail. He had a perfectly frank conviction that the judgments he had deliberately formed were substantially true; and I think it cost him no effort to tolerate opinions contrary to his own, because he never forgot the element of truth in every sincere judgment, and because he never was afraid of the consequences of argument. I remember that when he invited me to be his assistant in the University, I felt it to be a difficulty that my philosophical opinions were very different from his, and that it would be impossible for me to teach the system contained in his *Handbook of Moral Philosophy* in a manner likely to be useful to students. I brought the question before him with all the pomp proper to an adolescent conscience. I remember still the slight shock of surprise with which I discovered how little the matter affected him. He listened, and approved, but was quite sure that a fair difference of opinion, mutually agreed on, could only do good. I have always thought it a triumph of his consideration, and of the justice

and tolerance of his mind, that the very considerable differences which existed between us never, during the six years in which I assisted him, made even a momentary difficulty.

Another incident in my work with him illustrates no less clearly his openness of mind and freedom from prejudice. Very shortly after I had begun to assist him, it occurred to me that it might help to relieve the baldness of the Scottish University system to employ as tutors in the class some of the more distinguished graduates of recent years, who might carefully discuss the subjects set for essay-writing with small groups of students, and might give to the essays themselves a more detailed consideration than can be given by two teachers responsible for a class with upwards of a hundred members. I wrote to Professor Calderwood to suggest that this scheme should be tried, and I have never forgotten the cordiality and enthusiasm with which he accepted, without limitation or criticism, and without a day's delay, a proposal which was completely new to him, which had no precedent to recommend it, and which (as he saw more clearly than I did) would expose him to great inconvenience if it failed. When one considers how easily presumptuous inexperience might have been rebuked, how apt most people are to value lightly proposals which they have not made themselves, when we remember that Professor Calderwood believed in the Scottish University system as only those do who have given themselves without reserve to do their best with it, and to improve it, I think it may be taken to argue the possession in no common degree of qualities sometimes omitted from the academic mind, that he should have concurred so willingly in a proposal which was so novel. The scheme was tried, and those who took part in it could bear me out when I say that its success was chiefly due to Professor Calderwood's perpetual and sympathetic interest in it.

But if the foundations of Professor Calderwood's success were laid in his fearless tolerance and tenacity of purpose, his sympathetic interest in his pupils counted for scarcely less. He was keenly aware of the strain which circumstances impose on many men in the peculiar conditions of Scottish University life. He knew how severely poverty often

presses on those who are perhaps finding their difficult way to great careers. He knew how greatly such hardship is aggravated by the solitary brooding to which the Scottish student so easily falls a victim, and he spared no effort to alleviate the difficulties of his pupils. His efforts to bring them together at his house in friendly social intercourse, his interest in every University society, his easy personal kindness—all helped to endear him to his pupils. But the same spirit which prompted these was no less at work in the daily routine of the class-room. Never was the business of a University class-room conducted with greater system or in more precise order. Yet the whole was inspired by the direct interest of the Professor in every student's work. There was no student who did not suppose that he was personally interesting to his teacher. There was none who might not put that supposition to the proof and find it true. For he was as gentle as he was courageous; and there was no student so dull, or even so idle, that his work and himself were uninteresting to Professor Calderwood. I had a very vivid illustration of this during his last illness. The session was only a few weeks old. Professor Calderwood had been ill for some time, but his energy seemed to yield nothing to physical weakness. Already he was struggling to create in the minds of his new students the convictions which he held; and when I went to see him (not thinking that I should not see him again) he spoke incessantly of various students and their work. His mind was occupied with their "difficulties"—for so he always spoke of their differences of opinion—and it was not only to the general work of the session but to the special necessities of individual students that his mind was still braced in spite of growing weakness. No one, I think, ever devoted himself with more unsparing vigour or more genuine sympathy to the duties of the unique relationship of teacher and pupil.

I cannot but feel that with the teacher whom it was my privilege to assist during these years, the academic world has lost something of its stock of courage and goodwill. He possessed in a singular degree those qualities of manhood without which knowledge falls short of being wisdom; and

those qualities made him a great teacher. Many of his students remember him often, and never without respect. In his own University he played a great part honourably. He was one of the last of a great generation; and in that generation there was none more truly native to a Scottish University.

He continued through life the habit formed in Glasgow of rising at six in the morning, so as to secure a good hour and a half for writing before an eight o'clock breakfast. In the early morning he commonly gave his attention to the particular piece of work which demanded, at the time, his most careful effort. His feeling was that after sleep the brain is in a better condition to undertake hard thinking than at any other time; not that the brain sleeps, but that the general repose of body and freedom from outward nerve excitation produces the recuperation most necessary for strong mental effort.

When engaged in the writing of a book, the morning was his time for tackling the difficult problem; but in Edinburgh during the winter months, when much work of diverse kinds crowded upon him, original writing of this sort had to be taken late as well as early. His power of concentration was very great, and the rapidity with which his mind could be turned off or turned on a subject was, in part, the secret of the great amount of work he got through, as of his cheerfulness when interrupted.

The many difficulties with which he had to contend necessitated the deepest thought, and at all possible times of the day, when not actively absorbed in other affairs, he would at once continue the thinking out of his difficulties. On several occasions it happened that before retiring to rest—which he commonly did about eleven, so as to get a good six hours' sleep—his mind

was absorbed with a difficulty from which he could in no way see an exit, a difficulty the various ramifications of which had probably been occupying him for some days. In the middle of the night he would suddenly waken with a lucid solution of the problem clear before him, and immediately he would rise, get pencil and paper, and write the ideas down, after which he again would go to sleep. Cases of wakening to find the mind continuing a dominant idea of an imaginative kind are, we believe, not uncommon. Ordinary incoherent dreams apart, we can more easily understand the writer of romance weaving his story in his sleep, than cases of the kind referred to. Effort may sometimes even be made to induce dreaming for purposes of romance. In Professor Calderwood's case, however, we seem to have the healthy mind working out logically, during sleep, most intricate, abstruse problems. His mind was not imaginative, in the ordinary sense of that word, nor was his nervous system highly strung and easily excited. He had, however, as has been said, intense power of concentration, and he had accustomed himself to prolonged mental effort, and to habits of strict self-government. Had this not been the case we may presume that either complete rest and the absence of distraction during sleep would have produced results of no superiority to those of his waking hours, or else he would not have wakened up at the proper moment to catch the clear conception of the case. As it was, the difficulty having been satisfactorily overcome, he continued his sound sleep, and woke at his accustomed time without any immediate or clear recollection of what he had written down during the night. He usually spoke with satisfaction of these incidents after they had occurred. We have no recollection of his

ever finding, after referring to his paper, that the result was other than of great value to him.

In 1893 *Evolution and Man's Place in Nature* was published. This work may be said to have been the climax of his study on the relations of science and philosophy. He himself regarded the enormous amount of preparation necessary for the proper treatment of his subject as an excursion considerably beyond his province, but he had a strong belief that some attempt was necessary to meet the argument of those who supported Darwin in his views as to the evolution of the higher faculties of man. *The Origin of Species* was published in 1859, and Huxley's *Man's Place in Nature* in 1863, eight years before the publication of Darwin's *Descent of Man.* The violence of the attacks upon the views of life propounded in the books mentioned had completely subsided. People had become accustomed to the idea of evolution ; indeed it might be said that a habit had arisen of reading evolution into all conceivable systems of nature. When Professor Calderwood's book appeared, therefore, the views of the evolutionist were familiar to most, and the majority of those likely to read the book had probably accepted the theory as applicable at least to the whole of the lower animals. The debateable ground, for the most part, was in connection with man and his mind and soul. On this ground Professor Calderwood developed his position and took his stand. The subject dealt with was approached, and naturally so, in the method he employed when dealing with philosophic problems. On this account, we believe, scientists found the manner of treatment peculiar and in many cases not to their liking, while those accustomed to view such subjects from the philosophical or theological position praised

the book highly. The particular point made was that no physical forces discernible in Nature were sufficient to account for the appearance of the reasoning faculty in man; that animal intelligence does not lead up to rational intelligence; that no possible advance in the structure of the central nervous system can explain this life; that the reflective exercise known in consciousness is not to be gained by the repetition or collection of sensory impressions. The evolution of the animal and lower mental nature of man was in no way disputed.

Amongst the very numerous reviews was one in *Nature*, by Alfred Russel Wallace. This review, coming as it did from the highest possible authority on "Darwinism," was naturally regarded as voicing the feelings of the scientific class, for whom the book was chiefly intended. The treatment of heredity, instinct, and the relations of animal and human life, Wallace did not consider likely to attract scientific readers. It seemed to him to be too general and vague in its system. But he acknowledged that the special feature of the book was "by far the best portion"—the discussion of the rational as contrasted with the mere perceptive and intelligent nature of man and of the lower animals; and that this part would attract the "readers more disposed towards the esthetical and moral than towards the scientific aspects of evolution."

To say that the author was disappointed at the reception of the book would be to overstate the result produced by the reviews, but without doubt he recognised that his method of treatment had not carried conviction to the particular class he desired to reach. A cause for this may, in some measure, have been the loss of a great part of his manuscript, necessitating the rewriting of much of his argument under conditions

which were perhaps not nearly so favourable as those under which the original manuscript was drafted. This really heavy blow occurred to him after he had left Edinburgh for the summer, and was living at Carr Bridge in Strathspey. He naturally felt the loss keenly, but when all conceivable efforts had failed to give trace of the missing packet, he quietly set himself to the task of recalling as nearly as possible the part of the book which had been lost.

On this account it seems probable that the rather unfavourable reception of the book by scientists was not altogether surprising to the author, and partly prepared the way for his subsequent action.

With that unsparing earnestness of purpose so characteristic of him he set to work to find out how the book might be improved. He decided to recast the early part and to introduce fresh lines of evidence. Finally, the simplest way of arriving at the desired result was to rewrite the whole book. So it happened, that instead of leaving the province of natural science for a return to more purely philosophical writing, as he certainly had hoped now to do, he produced a larger, and, without any doubt, a very much finer work. This second edition was published in 1896. It contained five new chapters—The Nerve System as an Instrument of Knowledge, Right and Wrong, Civil Law, and Modern Thought, as additions to the series of chapters on Human Life, and a long and important chapter on The Ape and Man. We hope we may be permitted to say, without presumption, that the whole statement of the case, as well as the combating of the positions of Darwin and Herbert Spencer and Alfred Russel Wallace, is more clearly and firmly arranged. Without doubt, had the book appeared first in the form assumed by

the second edition, the effect upon the scientific world would have been greatly enhanced, but although the reviewers noticed the entire remodelling of the book, they did not scan the work as practically a fresh production, and give it place as such. Hence the real value, as it appears to us, of this *Evolution and Man's Place* has not been sufficiently recognised. Huxley, in his Romanes Lecture—about the time of the publication of the first edition—advanced the view that rational life is a new appearance, operating under distinct laws, inasmuch as "social progress means a checking of the cosmic process *at every step*, and the substitution for it of another" (*Evolution and Ethics*, p. 33). Our author noticed that this opened up the line of argument to "the realm of the spiritual," and that the spiritual realm did not now appear as apart from or antagonistic to natural law. In the chapter on The Ape and Man he draws the distinction between the intellectual possibilities, disallowing that the ape has rational power or is in any true sense a thinker, and attributing to man alone that higher intellect which, on account of its very nature, cannot be a product of organic evolution. In no sense was the ultimate argument of the book altered. The Agnosticism of our time he regarded as in some measure a natural product of a scientifically sceptical age; but he believed it to be a transitory condition, which with further light and knowledge would give place again to a belief in Divine supremacy. The channels of thought opened up in the work were no doubt largely advanced because, through his own conviction, he believed them to offer the true line to the desired end.

This was his last book of real importance. It was followed only by a short biography of Hume, for

the famous Scots Series, which he unhappily did not live to finish. For a truer estimate of his published works than we can presume to enter upon here, we refer the reader to the chapter by Professor Pringle-Pattison.

During the year 1894 Professor Calderwood was impressed with the advantage which would follow upon the establishment of a lectureship in experimental psychology. The advance recently made on the Continent by such men as Weber, Fechner, Wundt, Münsterberg, and Höffding; in America by W. James, Baldwin, and Stanley-Hall; and the efforts of Ward and Sully in England, all seemed to point to the advisability of establishing a laboratory and lecture-room for carrying on similar work in Edinburgh. Moreover, the initial difficulty of finance, and of finding a man competent to discharge the duties of lecturer, seemed likely to be easily overcome. A large sum of money had, many years previously, been left "by the author of *The Constitution of Man*," for the purpose of stimulating research on subjects akin to phrenology. The trustees of the fund, finding that nowadays phrenology, with astrology and necromancy, had to be regarded as exploded sciences, were unable to find outlet for the money committed to their care. It was therefore Professor Calderwood's effort, assisted by Dr. Charles Douglas, to draft a scheme of work which would, while meeting all purposes of a lectureship in the University, fall within the regulations prescribed for the guidance of the trustees in the disposal of the money from the fund. An endowment of from £12,000 to £15,000 was suggested, with a sum of £500 for the purchase of instruments, and a smaller endowment for the annual salary of a laboratory assistant.

The proposal, generally, was to investigate the problems connected with the co-operation of mind and body, the bearing of physical laws on conscious life, the restriction of physiological laws upon the will, how far physical conditions affect experience and power of self-control, experience gained through the special senses, the illusions to which we are liable through the use of the special senses, and different forms of brain excitation.

To commence a system of investigation on such questions as these, the first requisite was a set of instruments such as those commonly employed in recording sensory and motor activity, time, space, muscular power, and fatigue, etc. An experimental link of this kind, bringing psychology into direct relation with accurate scientific methods, was considered as of very great value to philosophy. He had for some time been acquiring and studying the more important works on the subject, and he hoped by the establishment of a lectureship in connection with the department of philosophy to greatly increase the scope and value of this section of University study in Edinburgh. Unfortunately, however, after arrangements had already considerably advanced, and when several of the trustees had expressed their sincere hope that it might be possible for them to make use of their money as proposed, the more careful examination of their powers revealed the fact that, owing to certain provisions of the Trust, the strict legality of such an action might be called in question. With no small regret to all concerned, the proposal had therefore to be abandoned.

We desire now to refer shortly to a few features of the home life.

From the letters written to his children from the Continent, it will be seen how quickly he could associate himself with young minds, and what an evident delight he took in doing so. At home he was ever ready to stop his writing for a few minutes to amuse children. His constant habit of work made such intervals specially marked, and perhaps all the more enjoyed; and even when at work he never would allow that the sound of romping children made the slightest difference to him. Even in his latest years, with his grandchildren he was ever willing to "play fun" in the garden; and we have repeatedly seen him in the house down on his hands and knees making the youngsters shout with glee. Thinking was done as he tramped up and down outside. Now and again he would pause to make a note, or step into the smaller of his studies, which opened on to the garden at the back of the house, in order to hunt up a reference or to see a visitor. Cold weather was no deterrent, moderate rain and even snow still permitted him to walk up and down in a mackintosh, the note-book only being indoors. But a high wind, which blew papers about, and buffeted him, made this out-of-door work impossible. He never drove to the University except when bundles of essays or examination papers had to be transported, and sometimes he even then preferred to take his usual walk across the Links and Meadows. He never seemed to regard his carriage as for his own use. On the coldest day he preferred to be without an overcoat, and Edinburgh's most famous east wind was powerless to depress his spirit.

The habit of keeping notes of the various books he studied seems to have been formed as a student. Following, perhaps, the example of his illustrious

Professor, Sir William Hamilton, notes were first made, and a careful index kept in a Common-Place Book. The first of those books is dated 1847, and shows a most careful and systematic study of metaphysical literature. The habit of making notes in shorthand interspersed with written words seems to have been formed also at this time. All subsequent notes were made in this way, although latterly the style might perhaps have been more correctly described as written notes with shorthand interspersed, the notes themselves being of the shortest possible description. An address for a meeting or a speech at a political dinner, for instance, was frequently jotted down in pencil on the back of an envelope shortly before he left home, and thought over as he walked through the streets. His class lectures, however, were written out in full, and were so frequently modified through the introduction of new matter, each lecture being carefully gone over on the morning of the day of delivery, as to render the manuscript puzzling to any one save their author. From time to time whole lectures had to be rewritten. Two winters before the end no original lectures remained in use.

With reference to the note-books in which he recorded the results of his reading, it may be of interest to mention some of the titles. As a rule one note-book was set apart for one book read. So we have the headings of various writings of Aristotle, Plato, Kant, Hegel, Green, Lotze, Wallace (Schopenhauer), Caird, Fowler, and others in philosophy; and in the sphere of science, or science coupled with philosophic thought, Darwin, Alfred Russel Wallace, Romanes, Laing, Oliphant, etc. At the late period came books on psychology, but every book of any

moment relating to the subjects he specially studied found its way to his shelves after he had obtained a knowledge of its contents. In some note-books are closely written pages which show that certain passages of the Bible had been carefully studied, as if for some special purpose, apart from his daily reading of Scripture, or the preparation of sermons or addresses.

In the preparation of an original work the use of note-books was also much employed. A draft of the whole work appears in one note-book, and the several chapters are written out in full in similar note-books, so that the manuscripts of all his later books take the form of bundles of quarto note-books. Amongst the rest, we may mention a large manuscript which seems to tell of a projected work which must have been abandoned. It is headed "A Popular Exposition of Moral Philosophy, adapted to Educational Purposes." The work was begun on 14th July 1885. Four chapters appear to have been drafted as Part I. They treat of—1st, Warrant for Moral Distinctions; 2nd, Our Knowledge of Right and Wrong; 3rd, Moral Law; 4th, the Activity of Moral Life. At a later period the bulky note-book has been used for other purposes. As a rule his day's work terminated at ten o'clock, when the prayer-bell rang. As each College session drew to a close, the press of essays and examination papers which had to be got through before a given date made it necessary for him to stop all private reading and writing, and to curtail his sleep. For very many years, with a class of about one hundred and sixty men, and a smaller senior class besides, he personally read and adjudged every essay and paper. Latterly, however, when he was fortunate enough to have an assistant whose services had been continued for a number of

years, and upon whose judgment he could thoroughly rely, this work was greatly lightened, a certain number of papers being taken by the Professor, and a certain number by his assistant, Dr. Charles Douglas. Before this happy condition obtained, however, the pressure of work was so heavy during the last week of the session, that sleep was cut down to three hours; and after two or three days with this short allowance, we have seen him work for forty-eight hours at a stretch and still enter his class, on the prize-giving day, with his usual appearance of cheerful vigour. The week following he had to be sought for, as a rule, by the side of some trout stream, enjoying the blessed peace of Nature, as he leisurely practised "the gentle art."

From the commencement of his professorship he felt a desire to gain a more intimate knowledge of his students than was to be obtained merely by class work. Each member of his class was therefore invited to his house. About forty constituted a party, lady students being also invited. Choruses were sung, and as many students as possible were made to contribute to the evening's enjoyment. Musical friends of the family also kindly gave their help. Sometimes the men went home in bands singing; sometimes they were duller, even shyer, and allowed the neighbourhood to slumber in peace. But each in his own way was made to enjoy himself, for the Professor mixed amongst his students as if he were one of themselves just playing host for the night. J. M. Barrie recalls these evenings in his little book, *An Edinburgh Eleven*, as follows:—

> Professor Calderwood has such an exceptional interest in his students that he asks every one of them to his house. This is but one of the many things that make him generally popular; he also invites his ladies' class to meet

them. The lady whom you take down to supper suggests Proposition 41 as a nice thing to talk about, and asks what you think of the metaphysics of ethics. Professor Calderwood sees the ladies into the cabs himself. It is the only thing I ever heard against him.

The interest in his students did not, however, stop at entertaining them at his house. During the session he took a daily roll of the whole class, a man in each bench being told off to supply the names of those absent, and a censor collecting the results. This system, while a grievance to those who desired the opportunity of being frequently absent without risk to their certificates, gave the Professor a complete check on the absentees. At the same time, his faithful memory for faces let him know at once what absentees were likely to be away from their work through sickness. He would find out the condition of such men and try to help them in their trouble. Many a lonely student, making hard effort to attend the University by sacrificing comfort and even health, has been astonished, ashamed, and overjoyed to receive a visit from his Professor. One student, now a Free Church minister, writes of a visit as follows:—

He found me in a dangerous state, lying weak in bed. With a tenderness and solicitude I shall never forget, he asked me as to the state of my mind as to the prospect of leaving the world. That my Professor should go to the trouble of hunting me up, an obscure student living in humble lodgings, and that he should be so concerned for my highest interests as to visit me from time to time, made a deep impression on me.

It not infrequently happened also that students who had passed through his hands were watched with kindly care for many years. If he had learned of some particular difficulty into which a man had fallen,

or of a vice contracted, he was not content to let the man disappear from his sight when the class work was completed. His interest in such cases sometimes continued long after the man had entered upon his life-work. Yet he hardly ever, even in strictest privacy, spoke of disappointing cases which he was striving to follow up and benefit. Not a few of them, perhaps, involved strange revelations.

He was a distinct patron of Students' Societies from the same feelings of interest for the higher welfare of all students. He acted as President or Vice-President of the Arts Students Christian Society, the Missionary Society, the Total Abstinence Society, the University Musical Society, etc., and he made a point of attending the annual gatherings in the Students' Union whenever this was in his power. He felt strongly that the banding together for good purpose, of students of the University, deserved every support from the Professors.

It will readily be seen, therefore, that with these additions to the round of social duties which naturally fell to a man of his position, his spare evenings were not too numerous. If his own private tastes had alone been studied in the matter, he would probably have declined almost all invitations. To dine out was, however, always treated as a pleasure, although in reality it meant an evening lost to him. As an early riser, the "At Home" which commenced between ten and eleven o'clock in the evening was attended with an honest grudge. When work was pressing, we have often watched him doing the round of some crowded room; exchanging pleasantries on all sides; seeing every one; getting in a few important remarks to the people he specially wanted to talk with; then into his

coat, while guests were still arriving, and off to the brougham or cab he had told to wait for half an hour. Evenings which would have been an unalloyed pleasure to him—the evenings of the orchestral concerts of the winter months—were generally sacrificed, because the press of other affairs robbed him of all spare time.

In later years, however, he gave up one evening a month by agreeing to form one of a small company of prominent Edinburgh men who arranged to dine together at each other's houses, in rotation. The members of this select club represented law, science, theology, art, and literature. Conversation was general, and upon no pre-arranged subject, but, as may be supposed, was carried on from many points of view.

In the same connection we may mention that on the invitation of Mr. A. J. Balfour, he joined the ranks of the Synthetic Society, but so far as we are aware he was able to attend only one, to him, most interesting meeting in Westminster Palace Hotel.

In all this busy life it might perhaps be said that no intimately domestic life was possible. In a sense this was true. He had not leisure to devote to prolonged intercourse with those at home, yet in no sense was his life one apart from his family. When engagements permitted, his morning work was in the garden, as has been seen, and his evening work in the drawing-room.

He was ever the light and life of the house.

CHAPTER IX

VISITS TO THE CONTINENT, UNITED STATES, AND CANADA

Walking tour in Switzerland, 1869—North Italy, the Vaudois, Continental Sunday, the Tyrol—Residence in Berlin, 1871—German philosophy, prominent Germans, studies, the triumphal entry of the troops after the Franco-German war—Tour in the States and Canada, 1873—Official visits to the Presbyterian Churches in company with Dr. Eadie, New York, Princeton, Celebrities, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, Washington, President Grant, Toronto, Niagara, Montreal, Boston, Yale.

A PAUSE in the political economy controversy was happily brought about by the advent of the long vacation of 1869. The Solicitor-General had delivered himself of his judgment, and a natural crisis in the proceedings had been reached by the bold, and apparently unanswerable, reply of the new Professor. The chance of leaving the unpleasant business for a time was eagerly seized, and by way of complete relaxation a walking tour in Switzerland was planned. His intimate friend, Rev. Dr. Black of Glasgow, willingly entered into the project, and the month of June found the two pedestrians climbing over the Col de Balme to Chamonix, rejoicing in the free air, the glorious snow-peaks, and the smiling flower-strewn valleys. Crossing the Mer de Glace, they wandered down the valley to

Argentière and on through the Tête Noire. Taking advantage of the cool of the morning, they started early each day. Yet even a five-o'clock breakfast was not too early to prevent the writing of a home letter before the meal, and often though the writer was thoroughly tired at night a bright and interesting account of the day's tramp was penned for the benefit of those at home. This habit of almost daily letter-writing gives us a complete story of the trip, as a few extracts may sufficiently show :—

HOSPICE, GRAND ST. BERNARD,
29th June 1869.

. . . The snow is all around, and there has been a fall of snow since we arrived,—it looks altogether the St. Bernard of which we have read. . . . The peasants who come up the mountains are all entertained over the night, summer and winter. Sabbath last was a high day, and they had a hundred peasants up from the Italian side, whom they had to keep all night, and for whom they had to kill four cows. Among the English here is Dr. Landels of London. . . . Tell the children that I have seen the great big dogs about the door, to the number of about a dozen. . . . When we arrived, a waiter came to us and showed us upstairs; he then told us that service was going on in the church, but he tolled the bell twice, seemingly to indicate that two guests had arrived. Immediately, one of the monks came to us, a most active, obliging, young man, who has, it seems, for three years attended to the duty of entertaining the strangers. But he cannot speak a word of English, and therefore we have to get along a little slowly. . . . We are going off to bed early, as it is impossible to sleep in the morning, after the bells once begin to ring.

Later in the same letter, writing from Aosta, to which town they walked from the Hospice, "a walk extending from 6.15 A.M. till 1 P.M.," he sums up his impression :—

All in all, we were interested and pleased with the Hospice. The place is not altogether what I fancied. There is not a great gate with iron nobs, and a bell to ring, and a porter dressed in the style of a religious order. None of all these. There is a flight of steps from the Swiss side, and another from the Italian side, as you reach the landing. The door stands wide open. As we entered, two men, like cow-herds, passed out, taking no more notice of us than if they had seen us every day before.

Then follows a description of the now well-known building :—

. . . Now we are down in the Italian valley in a roasting heat. . . . I hope I am done with the giddy heights of the Alps for some time to come. Now, like the House of Lords, I shall vote "content," as my head does not suit such elevation. It is plain that I am of a lowly race, and not intended to be far up in the world.

They then visited Turin, and a number of the valleys where the Vaudois were persecuted. At the same time they made the acquaintance of many of the professors and pastors of the district. Near Angrogna they had some interesting experiences only to be attained by those who seek to explore beyond the reach of railways, and with a knowledge of what the past history of the country must indicate. The letter is dated La Tour, 3rd July 1869.

After about an hour of moderate climbing we reached Angrogna, and found Mr. and Mrs. Canton at home. . . . After chatting for a while, we took leave of Madame Canton, and M. Canton started to guide us to some of the most important sights. . . . We were guided up into the mountain by a winding path, to a place in the rocks where the people assembled for worship in time of the persecution, now known as "The Grotto." When we had got well up the hillside, we came upon a very rugged part of the hill, where immense

masses of rock seemed to have been tumbled upon each other. Down among these rocks we glided, following on the track indicated by the Vaudois *pasteur*, leaping from rock to rock, until we came to a cavity under a great rock, which seemed no larger than many we had passed on our way down. Here we got on hands and knees, and keeping our heads very low, we got under the rock; about four feet forward we had to duck again to get under a second piece of rock; then standing half erect we got down two steps on to a lower level, M. Canton lighting a match to give us a sight of the course to be taken—onwards a little more, and we were in a large chamber, fully fifty feet in height, with a little light coming in through openings in the rock far overhead. This chamber is capable of holding about 200 persons, and here in times of persecution the Vaudois, hunted like partridges on these mountains, gathered cautiously for the public worship of God. Wonderful history, which blends the spirit of fierce, mad, stupid persecution, with that of calm, holy, courageous faith in the God who is reconciled in Jesus. Oh! for the faith which endures! I felt it doing one's heart good to stand for a while in such a place.

We clambered out of the cave much more easily than we got in, and when we regained the road each carried, specially on his hat, some portion of the earth brought from the subterranean passage. From this we passed along the side of the hill to the place where the Synod met in 1532, when it was agreed to accept the French translation of the Bible by Olivetan. It was a glorious place for a Synodical meeting—a plateau whence all round are to be seen the majestic mountains towering to heaven, bidding all men look upwards, lifting their eyes to the hills whence cometh their help. A copy of this translation of the Bible, which the Vaudois call their translation, we saw at the college here in La Tour. Now the translations in use are those of Ostervald and of Martin.

Here we parted company with M. Canton, our kind guide, while we kept our way for about an hour and a half more, till we were up in the fastnesses of the rocks, at the head of the valley. Here it was that the Vaudois once had their headquarters, as far from their persecutors as they could get.

Here they had a college, and here now, to our disappointment, we found a Roman Catholic church, with a few houses scattered up the hill beyond it. Among these houses the Vaudois have a school. In this district of Angrogna, called a parish, and embracing the valley I have described, there are 2000 Protestants and 700 Roman Catholics. After our return and resting a while, we took a walk out about one and a half miles to a town called Lucerna—or Luzern—a very different Lucerne from the beautiful Lucerne of Switzerland. This town looks, with the help of a choice situation, and a fair application of white-wash, a most attractive place, but when you get within it the appearance of the whole is most wretched, except one grand house in the middle of it, with a most beautiful garden, where we saw an orange tree with oranges nearly ripe. But all around was wretched to look upon. This was a town where the Christian Protestants were crucified, and it looks altogether as if a blight were on it now. On approaching it we wondered that the Vaudois had not a church there; long before we left it our wonder had ceased, and we afterwards ascertained that the grand house belongs to the Count of Lucerna, a previous holder of which has left a condition that no site be given in the town for a Vaudois church. It is thus that some men leave curses to their posterity as well as blessings.

Sabbath, 4th July 1869.

We hoped for a quiet, solemn Sabbath here, but our hope has proved a delusion. Nothing all over the Continent is more saddening, or bodes more evil for the future, than the way in which the Sabbath is spent. I am utterly sick of the experience of these Sabbaths. I hardly think that a greater trial could befall one in following the path of duty than that of being constantly forced to encounter the misery of being in the midst of such Sabbath accompaniments as we have here. . . .

The usual round of the Italian lakes followed upon these experiences, then the travellers visited Milan, Venice, and Verona. On entering the Tyrol, walking was recommenced at Botzen, from which place a letter was sent home referring again to the effect of Roman

Catholicism and Sunday observance. A quotation may be made from it as an offset to the last :—

Popery both helps them and hinders them. It is practically the only Church they have as yet, pointing their minds to God, the all-glorious One, and to Jesus the crucified One. In doing this it is doing immense good, beyond doubt; but in doing this good work it is doing immense harm, both directly by the error which it teaches, and indirectly by driving many to unbelief who would otherwise rest in the truth. In plain violation of what belongs to the Church of Christ, it is crushing independent thought, and as a natural consequence, independent thought rejects its own claims to submission. Whatever be the present religious condition of the country, one cannot look at the people of Northern Italy without admitting that they are a noble race. Those who have only lately passed from under Austrian to Italian rule seem well pleased with the change, for portraits of Garibaldi and of Emmanuel, and monuments to Cavour, are everywhere seen, while new streets are designated by their names. For the present, however, the country seems heavily taxed, and the taxes meet the people in a rather offensive way.

Later again, after walking by way of Lengmoos, Brixen, and Steinach, he writes from Innsbruck as follows :—

When Vespers were rung we went to the Cathedral, and were very much impressed. The church was full of people —old and young, men and women. I have always felt displeasure at the sweeping condemnation of the Catholic Church, which often comes from Protestants, and here I feel it deeply. Their distinctive doctrines in the Catholic Church are worthy of condemnation, but the devotional fervour manifested in some parts (certainly far more in the Tyrol than in any place I have been) is a most impressive and precious lesson. The priests here look quite different too. They are less taken up about their cocked hats and their precedence than in Italy, and more taken up with their work.

After Innsbruck no more walking was attempted, the mountainous regions were left behind, and the homeward journey was made by way of Munich, Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Frankfurt, down the Rhine by Mayence and Cologne, then Brussels, Antwerp, and home. The letters from all points on the route refer to a great variety of subjects. Every object in any way distinctive, or characteristic of the country and its people, is noticed. Descriptions are sometimes given in great detail, accompanied by small ink-sketches of the "thumb-nail" order. For instance, the systems of vine-growing are illustrated, and the arrangements of frame tables, trellis, or poles of different localities are compared, not only with each other, but with the vinery systems at home. Notes of this kind are sent to his father-in-law, Mr. Thomas Leadbetter, whose vineries near Bothwell were somewhat celebrated, and who was interested in all matters relating to the garden. Remarks are always made on the good or bad farming. He is struck with the productiveness of this or that soil, with the very complete use the Italians make of their ground, seeing harvesting, ploughing, and sowing carried on simultaneously in the Tyrol; with a clever style of fencing, with the houses, with the sublime scenery. He is not only the student, the philosopher, and the divine; he is the man of wide human interest. His private correspondence shows no hint of an inner life having interests different from those he displayed in public, no narrowing of his vision, no undignified laxity of thought or expression. He may comment upon this or that evil which he has noticed: he blames no one. He may mention fellow-travellers, acquaintances picked up by the way, all sorts of people: he tells merely of the interest of

their conversation, and of their good qualities. He makes light of fatigue, he never mentions the little annoyances and worries of travel. Above all, in the letters beginning "My ever dear wife," or "My beloved wife," the quiet happiness of a perfect domestic unity, the desire to write of everything that is of mutual interest and enjoyment, shows at once the love and the ever-abiding home-spirit of the writer. The perception of what will interest is also happily shown in one or two letters of this period addressed to the two children. They seem to exhibit the special trait in his nature which made him quickly and naturally the friend and guide of young people.

MARTIGNY, 28*th June* 1869.

I want to let you both know how Dr. Black and I get on when we are so far away.

We get up in the morning two or three hours before you think of peeping up, and after breakfast we start on our road for a long walk. Everywhere we see cows on their way to the mountains for grass, and each cow has a big iron bell round its neck, to let people know by the sound where they are, among the trees or in the glens, in this way.

[Sketch of the head and shoulders of a cow with the bell.]

The children go out with the cows and goats, and carry their dinner in a basket with them. All round us we hear tinkle, tinkle, tinkle. Up one mountain-side we came upon sixty cows all feeding together in an open place, and two men watching them. What a tinkling there was. It seemed sometimes all confusion, and then they seemed to agree together, and it went—

Ding, dong, dong,
Diddle, diddle, dong.

All through the open space of ground there were pins driven in, to which the cows are fastened when they are milked. The cows all speak the same language as they do in our country, and when they speak it is very loud, and just moo, moo, moo. But the people all speak a different language. . . .

As we get up the hill, one little girl comes out with two plates of cherries to sell, a little farther on another is out with a jug of milk and two cups, and then farther on another comes with apples and cherries and mountain strawberries. . . .

I will show you how we got up the steepest part of the Col de Balme. It was like this [sketch of the mountains with zigzag path to summit].

There are a great many flowers growing on the mountains. I am sending home some of them. I saw one place, as large as the piece of the garden at home where the gooseberry bushes are, all covered with violets.

The women carry curious baskets like this, which they fill with grass, and sticks, and other things. [Sketch.]

Now good-night. God will watch over you and keep you. Remember to say thank you to Him every morning and night.

Another letter from La Tour tells how in Aosta the streets are lighted by oil lamps, which can be lowered for cleaning and lighting. Three sketches show the process. Then follows a picture of a mule with tasselled trappings to keep off the flies. "I saw a family party travelling on mules," he writes. "The father was on a beautiful, spirited black mule, very glossy; the mother was sitting on a quieter mule (as the gentlemen sit), and the baby on her knees. Another mule carried the luggage, and two servants walked alongside." Then follows a description, with picture, of the way a mother carries her baby in its cradle, and how, "when rest time comes, all the family gather round baby and take dinner in the shade."

The next Continental experience was in the summer of 1871, when he took up temporary residence in Berlin for the purpose of studying more intimately German language and philosophy.

In passing through London the oft-repeated invita-

tion to call on Manning (then an Archbishop) at Westminster Palace was brought to mind. In a letter written "On board the *Capella*, 26th May 1871," he gives an account of this visit:—

. . . We spoke first of the Temperance movement, of which he is an ardent supporter. He is anxious to advance to the utmost. I then told him I was happy to have the opportunity of a conversation on the subject he had discussed in the *Contemporary;* whenever I said that, he asked if I would be willing that he should call in his Vicar-General, to which I consented willingly. Dr. Vaughan seems also an able man. The Archbishop has his eyes pretty wide open, partly in the interests of his Church, but also I think in the interests of *science.* I got something from him as to the discussions at the Metaphysical Society, in which Huxley, Tyndall, and Carpenter take part. . . . Manning is a thin, sprightly man, exceeding frank and cordial in his salutation, with little ecclesiastical caution and reserve, and yet never forgetful of what is due to the Holy See.

Then follows a description of his appearance and dress. Later in the same letter he writes:—

I greatly enjoyed my talk with Hutton of the *Spectator.* He is the ablest man I have seen this time, and I am greatly pleased to find that he is strongly anxious to see a more spiritual science. He wishes that I should write for the *Spectator* some account of the present state of philosophical thought in Germany, and give my name. I made no promise, but I shall see.

From Berlin the regular writing of home letters was kept up. A few extracts from these will sufficiently show the more interesting and important experiences of the stay in the German capital:—

After posting your last letter I thought I would go across

the square and make an attempt to get into the Reichstag, which is sitting just now. My lodgings are just on the corner of the square, called the Dönhaus Platz, in which the House of Parliament stands, so that I can see the House from my window. I found there was free admission by ticket, and in addition, there is for sale a plan of the House, with the name of each member marked on the place where he sits. I found Bismarck seated on his elevated bench with other members of the Government. A document was in course of reading as to some of the arrangements affecting France. A member got up and criticised the document, during delivery of whose speech I saw Bismarck taking notes. At the close of the speech Bismarck immediately rose to reply, so that I had the satisfaction of hearing him. He speaks calmly, clearly, and with a good deal of power, scarcely ever hesitating. His power in the House is plain enough. . . . As I had happily secured within half an hour all that I wanted, I left when Bismarck sat down. . . . On Saturday morning I went down to the University at eight o'clock to hear Trendelenburg. I opened the door, but no one was there. About five minutes past the hour one came, then another, when I thought I should go in and take a seat. When I was seated, to my surprise the next comer was Professor Campbell of Minnesota, America, who had a letter of introduction to me last winter from Dr. Crawford. . . . Next came Trendelenburg himself, who walked to his chair, opened his top-coat, and got out his spectacles: present three students and a stranger. The Professors have no retiring-rooms, and so seem encouraged in coming late. Then came a fourth student, and at last a fifth, who, to my delight, was one of my last year's students, Mr. Kennedy. . . . I have arranged that he and James Leadbetter take tea with me to-night. I hope they may get tea, for the making of it is a great mystery here, seemingly. . . . Professor Campbell, who speaks German fluently, told me that I had come at the very time for a great celebration, as a monument to Hegel was that day to be uncovered, and a festival to be held. . . . He took me to Professor Mereker's house, who at once gave me a welcome, and insisted I should be of his party all the day. . . .

7th June.—. . . I have settled down to hard work, and am busy making the most of my time. I have begun reading with a young and rising Doctor of Philosophy, Dr. Cohen, who lives about two miles away from here. He is just the man I wanted, thoroughly up in philosophy. . . . The greatest diversion as to meals has been connected with tea. It is hardly coloured at all. When James Leadbetter and Mr. Kennedy were coming to drink tea with me, I took in hand to instruct Frau Sieradzki as to tea-making. So I told her to put in four teaspoonfuls, to keep the tea-pot at the fire for twenty-five minutes, and that she was to give me a kettle of water to fill up the tea-pot. She seemed quite puzzled by the last order. She could not make it out, and got in her son, who speaks English, to interpret. . . . At length it was agreed between them that they had understood me. I had some doubt whether they had, and waited the arrival with some curiosity. When it was served, a large tea-pot was brought in standing in the middle of a great basin of boiling water, and to add to the fun of the thing, tea had been infused *in the basin*, as well as in the tea-pot. It was a grand joke, and was peculiarly funny when the servant took away the things, for the tea-pot being empty made music on the sides of the basin.

In a letter of 9th June the arrival of the Czar is described, and his reception by the Emperor, the Crown Prince, and Prince Charles Edward. Then he adds:—

To-day I have been down to the University and heard Michelet lecture. His class numbered fifteen students. . . . He lectures with great animation, and ceaseless gesticulation —too rapid, I think. . . . When I came out I went for a turn along Unter den Linden . . . when I had a capital sight of Von Moltke. . . . His walk along the street is quite a royal progress. Not a person who seemed to know him passed without uncovering. I willingly followed the example, and did honour to that power of thought in him which I have admired more than in Bismarck. . . . His face is thinner than we should have supposed from the portraits we have

seen of him,—he is very natural and unaffected, with not a trace of bravado either in his gait or look. . . . The town is in a queer state with the preparations for the triumphal entry [at the termination of the Franco-Prussian war]. It is to be a grand affair. . . .

12*th June*.—The arrangements are going on with all speed, in daylight and torchlight, and on Sabbath as well as other days. . . . Rooms are in such demand that as much is being charged for a night as I am to pay for a month. . . . After reading with Dr. Cohen, I went in search of Miss Archer, and found her house in a beautiful locality, but the door shut, and on the bell-pull [a small sketch of an ornamental board is introduced]—"Miss Archer, half past one–half past two." . . . Instead of one day in the week she gives one hour each day to visitors. She is the lady who is at the head of the Victoria Institute for the Higher Education of Women.

Then follows a description of an evening spent in characteristic German style, in company with several German Professors, including Weber and Kiepert, the celebrated geographer; a visit to Potsdam; and his introduction by Professors Kuhm and Bastian to the Anthropological Society of Berlin.

14*th June*.—. . . I must tell you that I have secured a very advantageous place for seeing the entrance of the troops. It is on the University platform, within the University grounds, opposite the Royal Palace. The King, and all the Princes and Generals, will wheel out the line just at that point, and stand before the Palace, *facing* the platform on which I shall be. . . .

16*th June* 1871, 6.30 A.M.—The great day has dawned in splendour, with all the brilliance of an Italian sky. Already the people are hurrying through the streets, and a band of soldiers is just past with their drummer at their head. I think it better to write the first part of my letter before I go out, as there may be hurry afterwards. . . .

4.45 P.M.—I have just got back from the great sight. Things have passed off splendidly. . . . The troops did not

reach the place where we were till one o'clock, so that we had three hours broiling in a strong sun. . . . When the soldiers did come, the sight was very grand. All arms of the service, and all the great generals of whom we have heard so much. They came on in rapid succession, and yet took fully three hours to pass. The computation is that there were 40,000 men. They formed in battalions just in front of our platform, before the march past, so that we saw all that, and as the King stood on the opposite side of the street we saw to full advantage. After the march past the statue of the late king, Frederick William, was uncovered. . . . The favourites with the people to-day were the Uhlans, the Red Cross Service, and the Cuirassiers.

His departure from the spectacle was sudden, on account of the horror with which he beheld the exhausted troopers falling amongst the horses' feet. Referring later to an English lady, who had given him much information, the wife of a German officer, he says :—

I left abruptly on seeing another brigade of cavalry approach, and forgot to thank her. I could not endure to see over again what I felt certain was to be repeated. I am sorry to say that two of these poor men have died in the hospital, in consequence of their fall. . . . The wonder is that there were not twenty deaths instead of two. Dr. Eberty's son was wonderfully preserved in the war. He belonged to a company which was surrounded by the French at Sedan, and was saved only by a sudden dash of the German Cavalry Corps.

In a later letter (23rd June) he writes :—

The deaths of soldiers have after all come up near what I said would not have surprised me,—the number is sixteen—as many as were lost at times in a skirmish with the enemy. Most died from exhaustion and excitement under the exces-

sive heat. They were all in their heaviest marching order. One poor man who felt completely done, hired a drosky to drive him home to his wife and children, and when they rushed out to welcome him, he lay dead in the cab. These facts are not much known in the town, but one feels sad to think of the poor fellows falling at their own doors. Now, things look like release to men weary of battles; on every side you see groups coming away with their bundles of clothes, who have left their arms behind, and are off for home.

20th June.—. . . To-night I go to Abend-Essen at Miss Archer's, where I am to meet Professor Holtzendorf. The hour is eight o'clock. . . . Professor Blackie is back in Berlin, but I am not sure where he is. Miss Archer is to see if she can catch him to-night. . . . Holtzendorf is the Masson of Berlin, as champion of the ladies, doing all the hard fighting, when it needs to be done, and looks able to stand his own.

23rd June.—. . . Hitherto I have not had much to say as to music, for I have been disappointed as to that, and did not care to admit it. I make the admission now only because I have come upon the right thing at last, and it was an exquisite treat. . . . What has so delighted me is a Symphony Concert,—the orchestra mostly reeds and strings, with just a support behind in brass—and the delicacy of playing quite a treat to listen to. The concerts are given only twice a week, Wednesdays and *Sundays*, so I can hear the music only once a week.

In the midst of Berlin life at this particularly exciting time he did not lose interest in the politics of the home country. We read, for instance, after an account of a big hunt after books on German philosophy which he wanted to take back with him, and the account of a Roman Catholic wedding he had witnessed:—

In the evening I went down to the confectioner's in Unter den Linden, to get hold of a copy of the *Times*, in which I read the debate on the Sunday Trading Bill, and was sorry to learn from a paragraph that Grote the historian is dead.

As the time draws near for his return to Scotland he yearns for home. He thinks he will time himself for a direct run from Hamburg to Leith, so as to arrive on a Saturday. Word reaches him that the steamer will be delayed in starting. He writes :—

My provocation was intense when I got that message. I started off for the office to see if there was no mistake, but it was locked, according to that nice habit by which they shut up at mid-day to go off for dinner. I therefore went direct for the steamer, and there had only additional provocation, in being told by the captain that he does not think he can catch to-morrow morning's tide, and that in all probability it will be to-morrow night before he can start . . . when I get myself cooled down to the submissive state, I shall be able to spend part of my evening in writing, for which I have material enough. [Then again he adds], I have got very weary of absence. However, I fancy I need to be fretted occasionally to train me to submission.

The Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, in the spring of 1873, commissioned Rev. Dr. Eadie and Professor Henry Calderwood to visit the Presbyterian Churches of the United States and of Canada for the purpose of addressing the Assemblies, and establishing broader and more friendly relations with the various branches of Presbyterianism.

In the Life of Dr. Eadie, written by the late Dr. James Brown of Paisley, and published in 1878, the tenth chapter deals with this interesting tour, and as it is from the pen of Dr. Eadie's companion—the subject of this memoir—a few extracts may perhaps be permitted. Both travellers were marked men, and were received on all hands with most courteous attention and hospitality.

Shortly after their arrival in New York they were

introduced to a ministerial club called the Chi-Alpha (Christoi-Adelphos), where they met such men as Crosby, who became a friend from that time, Schaff, and John Hall, and where they had the opportunity of hearing and discussing various points bearing upon the education of theological students. After a description of this club in the work referred to, we read :—

The "Chi-Alpha" separated about eight o'clock, and at nine o'clock we were introduced to the "Century Club," whose monthly meeting happened to be on that evening. The club numbers about 500 members, all married men, and includes literary men, artists, lawyers, and merchants. Its monthly meeting has a special attraction on account of an arrangement by which members who are artists exhibit their recently-finished pictures, which are temporarily hung on the walls. Mr. Bryant, the poet, was chairman, to whom we had the pleasure of being introduced. . . . On Tuesday, 6th May, we started for a visit to Princeton. It is a college distinctively Presbyterian, in accordance with the practice in the earlier period of American history, when the Churches bestirred themselves to provide college training. Princeton, associated with the names of Jonathan Edwards and Alexander, is fortunate in having Dr. M'Cosh at the head of the College, and Dr. Hodge at the head of the Seminary. The Seminary is a theological institution, distinct from the College, and standing on the opposite side of the village.

A letter of Dr. Eadie's, referring to their stay with Dr. M'Cosh, whose position was subsequently offered to Henry Calderwood, tells us that the president "lives in the house occupied by Jonathan Edwards; and there, too, is the tree under which Washington used to wallop his niggers." Calderwood continues :—

As we had some time to spare before the meetings of the first of the Assemblies at which we had to appear, we resolved to make a tour to the west. On Monday 12th May we left

New York, and took train for Philadelphia and Baltimore. On this tour we had experience of the great kindness of the American railway officials to the deputies to the Churches. We had free passes for the whole course of our trip, so that for only one short portion of the line had we to pay, and that only on account of the pass being too late in reaching us. We travelled through New Jersey and crossed into Pennsylvania, thence we were carried onward into Maryland, and thus crossed the line into the former dwelling-place of slavery. . . . We halted for a little at Baltimore, and thereafter started for a night run over Alleghany Mountains into Ohio. Before darkness set in we saw the waters of the Potomac, and touched at Harper's Ferry, associated in other lands as well as in America with "John Brown's body." When day broke we were on the further side of the mountains, and we continued on our way till we reached Cincinnati in the afternoon. From Cincinnati we passed through the level prairie of Illinois with its dark rich loam. In due course the train swept round by the waters of Lake Michigan, and brought us in upon Chicago, presenting ample proofs of the terrible disaster occasioned by the great fire. Though less than two years had elapsed since the disaster, immense new blocks of buildings, some of them seven and eight stories high, had risen. The streets were all being brought to a higher level above the lake, houses were being elevated to suit the new levels, and were in some cases being shifted into new situations. One wooden house of considerable size we met in course of its little journey along the street to a new site. . . . One thing greatly impressed us in St. Louis, the adaptation of arrangements by the Roman Catholic Church to suit the excitable disposition of the black population. We saw a long procession of the negroes, with banners, variety of decorations, and an instrumental band playing the liveliest of marches and introducing the most popular airs. In Baltimore we were formally presented to the Assembly, the whole court rising to offer us a welcome. . . . In the evening we attended a grand reception, where was a company of about 700, and ample illustration of free demand for speeches. . . . Here also began the very serious work of attempting to answer

letters which poured in with invitations to visit innumerable places. The excessive heat made us regard with some concern the task of preaching twice on the Sabbath. We got through the work without harm, having audiences, however, whose multitude of moving fans presented to us an unusual hindrance to a full sweep of the eye while addressing them. . . .

We now quote from a home letter :—

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, *28th May* 1873.

We have now got as far south as the former capital of the Confederate Government, so long as Jeff. Davis ruled and General Lee kept the North at bay. We enjoyed a pleasant sail down the Potomac, through the heart of the country which was the scene of the conflict. . . . On the right bank we came upon Mount Vernon, the burial-place of Washington. The tomb is prettily placed on rising ground, thickly covered with wood. The forest is still abundant over this part of Virginia, with patches between well cultivated, on the borders of which the negroes' wooden shanties are placed, and the black heads are bobbing around, the picaninnies often trotting about the doors. The splendid agricultural implements seen on the prairies are not seen here. We passed on the right Fredericksburg, the scene of one of the great battles. Upon a knoll beside the town is one of the burial-grounds of the Federals. Each grave is marked by a little white stick, about 3 inches in breadth, and about 2 feet high. The sticks run over the ground in straight lines; heaps of white men slumber there as the penalty of the oppression of the blacks. Farther on we passed within sight of the skirt of the wilderness where Stonewall Jackson fought his last battle. Just beside the railway, on the left, we saw the little wooden house, with two brick chimneys, to which he was carried mortally wounded, and where he died.

When we got to Richmond, there was a hideous babel of negro drivers bellowing, "This way for Exchange," "This way for American," etc.

On the return to Washington, the narrative in the published account continues—

We drove to the White House, where, being introduced by General Babcock, we had an interview with President Grant. . . . The Hon. Mr. Delano, Secretary of the Interior, came in during our interview, joining freely in the conversation. We found the President anything but "silent," the *præfervidum ingenium Scotorum* having apparently been stirred.

Laborious and rather long-continued work in delivering addresses and in preaching was gone through in Philadelphia, where the Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church met.

Dr. Eadie writes a characteristic letter at this period, from which the following extract may be taken :—

Addressed the Assembly on Thursday forenoon. A lady gave the Assembly an entertainment in a large hall the same evening, and I am sure that I shook hands till my arm was sore next morning. . . . Pine-apples are sold through the streets here like carrots and turnips at Hillhead, and they are heaped up at the shop doors like potatoes in the Cowcaddens. . . . There were four black men in the Assembly—three elders and one minister. I got them out and shook hands with them. . . . A lady was lecturing on female rights the other evening, and began with the loud, abrupt, and eloquent question, "Why was I made a woman?"—a rhetorical pause, and then she repeated the question more grandiloquently, "Why was I made a woman?"—when in the pause and silence a young man cried out from the audience, "We give it up, propose something easier."

The next duty was to attend the Assembly of the Reformed Church of America, previously known as the Dutch Reformed.

The Moderator, Dr. Van Giesen, made a most hearty acknowledgment of the delight of the Synod in seeing representatives from Scotland, and the house rose *en masse* in token of their brotherly sympathy. Thus was brought to a close our official work in the States.

A few details as to what took place before the opening of this Assembly, as described in a home letter, are also of interest. The letter is dated "Elizabeth, New Jersey, U.S., 6th June 1873." Part runs as follows:—

The Seminary was the centre of interest for the day. As we arrived a speech was being delivered from the steps of a new Hall, before the unveiling of the bronze statue of the gentleman, named James Suydam, who had given the Hall. We saw the unveiling. After that, we went in with the crowd to the Hall, where the ceremony of "dedication" was to take place. In a small gallery at the entrance end of the Hall a party of students was placed, one of whom played the organ, and the other four sang. They opened with an anthem ascribing praise to God. The Professor of Systematic Theology (the Chair that I was asked to take)—Dr. Van Zandt—called upon Dr. Ormiston, who gave a vigorous, earnest address on Gospel preaching.

Reference is then made to the other addresses which formed part of the ceremony, and the letter continues:—

This was the grand affair at which it was hoped I would preside, if we had been willing to come out. . . . From that we went to the other side of the Campus, to the laying of the foundation stone of a new Library, to be given by another wealthy gentleman, with a library of upwards of 70,000 volumes. The Rev. Dr. Cornell, the gentleman who had specially urged that I should be requested to become Professor here, officiated at the ceremony.

Two days by rail and river brought the travellers to Niagara.

When we looked out next morning, the waters of Niagara were shooting past beneath our windows, hasting to the mighty plunge over the giddy height. The country around

was all quietness, in keeping with the Sabbath morning; the waters all haste and tumult. . . . We went to the Presbyterian Church in the morning. . . . We felt safe from demands for that day. We were, however, speedily made aware that we had made a narrow escape. The minister came from the pulpit and walked straight to our pew. I happened to be nearest, and he said to me, "Dr. Eadie?" I said, "No, sir." "Dr. Calderwood?" I had to assent. Next, "And is this Dr. Eadie?" We had to surrender our fancied advantage. We spoke for a little with the minister, and then we asked how he came to know our names. The answer disclosed the freedom of relations between pew and pulpit in America. A gentleman in church, a stranger to the minister, had sent up his card to the pulpit with the announcement—Dr. Eadie and Dr. Calderwood are in the church. We explained how pleased we were to avoid preaching on account of feeling unable to keep on speaking, as we had been compelled to do for weeks past. After service we found a quiet grassy slope on which to sit down for a little to watch the immense volume of waters tumbling to the depth, thence sending up a great cloud of spray like a perpetual incense. The sight was awe-inspiring. . . .

A full description of the Falls is given in a home letter after he had sought special opportunity of gazing alone and for a long time on the great sight. It is needless here to add to the many descriptions of a now well-known object, but the letter ends as follows:—

I don't wonder that people speak of being disappointed at first sight of Niagara. You need to pass the eye slowly from point to point, and slowly back again, in order to catch the first intelligent impression of its vastness. It is a crowd of mighty things. I do not remember that anything has impressed me so much.

But duty called us off (Monday 9th June), and we got ready to start for Canada. The "Union Jack" at last, after the "Stripes and Stars" had so long floated before our eyes! We took train down the right bank of Niagara in full view of

the whirlpool. Seven miles below we found the steamer ready to sail across the Lake of Ontario to Toronto. We both felt that we were among our own Scotch folk once more. The familiar mode of speech fell on our ears, and all the familiar traces were apparent of the more deliberate and cautious style of action, with less of the "go-ahead." As soon as we began to mark the deeper feelings of those whom we met, it was plain that there is everywhere ardent attachment to Scotland. . . . We appeared at the Assembly in the course of the day, and found that the evening meeting had been appointed for our reception. The interest all around us was different from anything which could exist in the United States. Friends who were familiar to us, and knew our faces well, came one after another to see us and shake hands. . . . After eight days' sojourn in the city we started for Montreal, whence we made an excursion to Quebec. There we visited the citadel; drove out to the plains of Abraham, and looked on the spot where General Wolfe fell. . . . The whole of the 24th and the greater part of the 25th we devoted to Boston, which has more of the appearance of an English town than any other we saw in the United States. We drove out to Cambridge to visit Harvard University. We had the misfortune to find that Longfellow was from home. . . . We returned to Boston, and wended our way, for humiliation of British pride, to Bunker Hill, Charleston, where a tall obelisk commemorates the American victory. . . . A most earnest request was made that we should remain to preach, but that we had to decline, and we left in the afternoon for New Haven, Connecticut, for "Commencement" Day—which is closing day—at Yale College. Here we had the great satisfaction of being the guests of Dr. Noah Porter, President of the College. . . . The services extended from half-past nine A.M. till two P.M.; the orchestra played at intervals, one of the numbers being the overture to Semiramide, which was given in grand style; eleven addresses were delivered by students, harangues on literary, historical, and political subjects, those of the latter class including fiery criticisms of the dishonesty of public men in the United States. It was Students' Day, and they took full advantage of free speech.

There was an audience of nearly 2000 persons—a great many ladies in the galleries; all listened attentively to the orations of the young aspirants, and from the galleries large bouquets of flowers were flung on to the platform in acknowledgment of honourable distinction. One of the bouquets passed so close to Dr. Eadie's nose that it nearly knocked off his spectacles, and another landed inside a hat placed quite near me. After the ceremonial, there was a great public dinner of students, College authorities, and former graduates; then we were introduced to the Governor of Connecticut, to Mr. Evarts, to ex-President Wolleseley, Professors Whitney, Dwight, Fisher, and a large circle. There we had our final exercise in speech-making, and were altogether delighted with the free and unrestrained relations of professors and students, and the deep interest of former graduates in their *alma mater*. . . . On Wednesday 1st July, . . . under an excessive heat we made the run to Jersey City, and got on board the *Java*, thankful to get out to sea for a breeze.

The *Jumping Java*, as she was commonly called, bore out her reputation for liveliness; although the passage occupied not more than the then usual nine days.

CHAPTER X

PUBLIC LIFE IN EDINBURGH, AND EARLY POLITICS

Chairman of first Edinburgh School Board, 1874—Lectures on Philosophy to Women, 1878—Work in connection with Medical Education of Women—Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women — University Court — University Students' Societies—Presentation of Freedom of Peebles, 1877—Gladstonian politics before the proposal for Irish Home Rule in 1886.

THE return to Edinburgh for the winter's work of 1873-74 brought with it most important and arduous duties, connected with the introduction of the School Board system. The exciting election of the first Board turned mainly on the question of inclusion or exclusion of religious training. Those who strongly advocated religious instruction in schools were subjected to most powerful attack in the public prints, and Professor Calderwood was in particular singled out for criticism on the ground of inconsistency. He objected to State aid in the Churches of Scotland, it was argued, and therefore he should object to religious instruction in such schools as were organised under State regulation. In this criticism there seems to us to have been a sad confusion between the ideas of national religion as it may be seen in the common creed of the three Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, and the particular form

of Church organisation exemplified in the Established Church. The recommendation of religious instruction in schools had no connection with the government of a particular Church. What the organising of the School Board in Edinburgh meant, what the developing of the system in its application, can scarcely be realised. It seemed that in the very diversity of his labours he found stimulus for extraordinarily protracted effort. The Chairmanship of the School Board at this time was hard work in itself, and yet the chief duty of Professor Calderwood was the teaching of philosophy in the University. School Boards then, being novelties, attracted an enormous amount of attention, and Professor Calderwood was deluged with correspondence, with inquiries, and with criticism. The recollection of those who saw him work at this time is that each day seemed to hold a week's toil. One thing was sufficiently significant. The active-brained man was, after dinner each evening, completely done up. His ordinary habit was to continue writing after dinner. During his tenure of office as Chairman he sometimes seemed almost dangerously wearied. For the following account of his attitude in the School Board we are indebted to Miss Flora Stevenson, whose connection with that Board has been unbroken since the commencement:—

Not the least valuable of the many services which Dr. Calderwood rendered to the citizens of Edinburgh was his work in connection with the new system of public education, inaugurated under the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872.

The first School Board Election in 1873 practically turned on the question of the continuance in the public schools of religious instruction according to "Use and Wont," which means the teaching of the Bible and the Westminster Shorter Catechism. Dr. Calderwood stood, as one of the ten candidates representing the three Presbyterian Churches,

pledged to this principle, and they were all returned. This first election settled the question, which has not again been raised at any subsequent election; and indeed it does not appear from the early reports and Minutes of the Board that it was ever formally discussed there.

Although a Voluntary in principle as regards the establishment and State endowment of religion in the Church, Dr. Calderwood was firmly convinced of the importance and necessity of religious teaching being given in the State-aided schools by the teacher who had charge of the secular instruction of the children; he deprecated, however, the appointment of a paid inspector of religious teaching.

Not very long after his election to the School Board Dr. Calderwood visited America, and brought back extensive knowledge of the school systems and schools in the States, an experience which undoubtedly influenced his policy as Chairman of the Board, to which position he was elected in 1874 on the retirement from the chair of Mr. James Cowan, then Lord Provost, on his being elected one of the members of Parliament for the city. Dr. Calderwood, on the motion of the late Sheriff Blackburn, the Episcopalian representative on the Board, seconded by Dr. Scott of St. George's Church, was unanimously and cordially elected as his successor; and it has been fortunate for the future of public education in the city that his wide knowledge and generous and broad views guided the early deliberations of the Board.

One of the first and most important duties devolving on the School Board was the erection of new school buildings, and in connection with this a decision had to be at once made, as to whether the old "mixed" parish school system, under which boys and girls were taught together, was to be continued, or if separate schools for boys and for girls were to be built.

Dr. Calderwood was strongly in favour of the mixed school system, and by the expression of his opinion he greatly influenced the decision of the majority who supported his view.

He claimed that the school buildings should be worthy of the city, and while he did not sympathise greatly with the

increasing demand for the luxuries of school appliances and apparatus, he demanded that, for the sake of the children, the work of the teachers should be done under such conditions as would produce the best results. He believed that large schools, with small classes, gave greater opportunity for good organisation and discipline than small schools with large classes.

Dr. Calderwood had a very high ideal of what the work of our public school teachers should be, and he advocated that they should receive good salaries, but he required that, on their part, they should give evidence of fitness for their work by scholarship and training, and he expected from them loyal devotion to duty and unsparing effort on behalf of the children under their care. He appreciated the good work done by women-teachers equally with that of men.

Dr. Calderwood had no narrow and restricted views about the kind of education to be given to the children in our country; he claimed for every child the best education he was capable of receiving, and resented the idea that the education given in the Board Schools was to be confined to the three "R's."

He took a special interest in the very poor children driven into our schools under the compulsory provision of the Education Act, and was from the beginning of its work a member of the Committee formed outside of the Board for the purpose of aiding destitute school children; and he strongly advocated the establishment of day industrial schools to provide for the efficient education and training of children who, through the neglect of their parents, were likely to drift into crime.

Dr. Calderwood was an ideal Chairman. His clear intellect and sound judgment, and his justice and courtesy, readily won for him the loyal support of his colleagues in his guidance of their deliberations; and when he found himself in a minority he as readily endeavoured to carry out successfully the decisions of the Board as when they coincided with his own opinion. In addition to his duties as Chairman Dr. Calderwood took an active interest in the work of the Standing Committees. He had a thorough knowledge of all the work and mastery of its details, which could only be obtained by

frequent visits to the schools and to the office, to keep himself in touch with the work of the teachers and the officials; but this involved a large expenditure of time, more time than he felt justified in taking from his professorial work.

In 1877 Dr. Calderwood felt himself obliged to tender his resignation as a member of the Board and as its Chairman. His resignation was regretfully accepted, with unanimous and cordial expressions of appreciation of his services.

He then received from the Board School teachers an address in a casket, as an expression of their high appreciation of his educational work, and of his interest in their profession.

Dr. Calderwood's interest in the School Board's work did not end with his connection with it. At subsequent elections he frequently supported the candidature of his former colleagues; and he was always a strong and active supporter of the candidature of the women members of the Board, two of whom were his colleagues on the first Board. To his appreciation of the work done by women on this and on other Public Boards he always gave generous expression.

The too short time, from 1873 to 1877, during which he was connected with the School Board, was, however, long enough for Dr. Calderwood's influence to make a deep impress on the public education in our city, and his enlightened views had more or less guided the policy of succeeding Boards.

He was at the same time conducting a course of lectures to ladies on moral philosophy in connection with the Higher Education of Women, a duty he seems to have accomplished with so much acceptance to his hearers that in April 1878 he was presented with an address from the ladies of his class.

Professor Calderwood's labours in the interests of women's work and education may be learned from the following most valuable contribution from Miss Louisa Stevenson, who has so long been identified with this branch of service in Edinburgh:—

No life of Dr. Calderwood would be complete which did

not contain some reference to the yeoman service which he rendered to the city of Edinburgh directly, and indeed to the whole country indirectly, by his hearty and emphatic recognition of the value of the services of competent women in various departments of public work. It is impossible for the present generation to appreciate what such support meant twenty-five or thirty years ago, when the vast majority of men, and women too, looked on it as a social crime for a woman to do any work whatsoever outside of her own house, except perhaps visiting the poor or teaching in a Sunday School, altogether regardless of her fitness for such work. The strong and steady support which Dr. Calderwood gave to the Woman's Suffrage movement was founded on his belief that each individual man and woman in the State had duties to perform to the State, and that these duties could not be adequately performed until the citizenship of women was recognised in other ways than the obligation laid upon them to pay a full proportional share of taxation. At every public meeting in favour of Woman's Suffrage in which he took part he emphasised the duty of carrying on this work, regardless of ridicule and opposition, not as an end in itself, but as a means to the accomplishment of work which without the political support of women would, in his opinion, be delayed or left undone. This was especially true with regard to many social, economic, and labour questions, the laws regarding which often press heavily on the working women of this country. He lived to see and to welcome the passing of the second reading of Mr. Faithful Begg's Woman's Suffrage Bill, on the 3rd of February 1897, by the large majority of seventy-one votes. When a similar Bill becomes law, a measure of the success will doubtless be due to the moral support given for so many years by Dr. Calderwood. In the historical medical women battle which raged in Edinburgh between 1869-74, Professor Calderwood threw himself heart and soul into the struggle, for a struggle it was, and one involving at that time considerable personal self-sacrifice on the part of members of the University who favoured the admission of medical women-students. Dr. Sophia Jex-Blake and her fellow-students could always count on his steady support.

After many defeats on legal and other grounds, no one rejoiced more than he when, by the passing of the Right Hon. Russel Gurney's Bill of August 1876, all the nineteen examining bodies of the United Kingdom were *enabled* to examine women-students, so that they might when successful be placed upon the register. This success was due in some measure to the support of an influential Association of over one thousand members which was formed to back up the women-students, and it was Professor Calderwood who nominated its Executive Committee at a public meeting held in the Council Chambers on the 19th of April 1871, under the presidency of the Lord Provost. He supported the Medical School founded in 1886, on the opening of the diplomas of the Scottish Joint Colleges to women, as he was one of those who held that the medical education of women could be best conducted apart from that of men-students. He also took a deep interest in the Dispensary opened in 1878, and the Cottage Hospital opened in 1885, where women-patients who desired it could receive advice and treatment from fully qualified women-doctors. Believing, as he did, that all public institutions require the services of women as well as men on their directorate, he nominated two women for election as managers of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary at the annual meeting of the contributors in January 1875. The minds of men not being then accustomed to such an idea, the effort failed, and his nominees were rejected. However, in January 1896, he, at the request of some of the contributors, again nominated a woman for election, who was returned as a member of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary Board without opposition. He gave strong support to women both as candidates for election to and as members of the first School Board in Edinburgh under his Chairmanship.

Before the opening of the Scottish Universities to women in 1892, an Association, called the Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women, made itself responsible for the long period of twenty-three years for providing, in co-operation with individual Professors, teaching in Arts and Science on University lines outside of the University. No Professor or Lecturer was employed whose teaching did not

qualify for graduation in the University. Professor Calderwood was a member of its Executive Committee and of its Council, and gave valuable help in the framing of its constitution and bye-laws.

The lectures on moral philosophy, which were delivered by Professor Calderwood himself, and not by his assistant, attracted a large number of earnest women-students, in whose work and progress he took a deep personal interest, and who often expressed their indebtedness to him for the high tone and the helpfulness of the teaching he gave.

The institution of the Edinburgh University Certificate in Arts for women, had also Dr. Calderwood's cordial support and approval. From 1874 onwards this certificate formed a valuable link between the Association and the University, as it was granted only to those students of the Association who successfully passed University examinations in three or more Arts or Science subjects up to the standard required for the M.A. degree. When, through the passing of the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1892, the Universities were empowered to teach and to graduate women, Professor Calderwood was one of those who successfully urged Edinburgh University to avail itself of its newly-acquired powers. He prophesied that the admission of women-students to the ordinary Arts and Science classes would be productive of good to all concerned. In the opinion of those best fitted to judge, that prophecy has been amply fulfilled. In session 1898-99, rather over 300 women were matriculated students in various faculties of the University.

Professor Calderwood's interest in the welfare of the women-students did not cease with their admission to the University. With other members of the Executive of the Association he realised the importance of having a residence for students coming from the country, to which non-residents also might resort for rest and study, and for social intercourse.

The outcome of this feeling was the founding of the "Masson Hall of Residence and Union for University Women-Students" at 31 George Square, which was opened in November 1897 by Miss Balfour of Whittinghame, but which, alas! Dr. Calderwood did not live to see. At the

opening ceremony Professor Masson spoke of him as "one whose face we should behold no more." . . . "the bold, good, conscientious, upright, and courageous Calderwood," words which found an echo in the hearts of all who heard them and who had known Dr. Calderwood.

Though one of the Executive of the Association for the University Education of Women, Professor Calderwood ever looked to his colleague, Professor Masson, as the real and official champion of the cause, and he regarded the naming of the Hall just referred to as a graceful tribute to work which Masson has done. The particular way in which Calderwood was able to render signal service in advancing the cause was by reason of his position on the University Court. Here he was able to advocate and do battle for the cause of women's education, and the part he had to sustain when the question of the qualification of women-doctors came up was no light one. Had there been no such advocate on the supreme court of the University, we may safely, we think, aver that the system of Higher Education of Women in certain branches would not now be so far advanced as it is in Edinburgh.

His position on the University Court was productive of other results also. Apart from *ex officio* members, Professor Calderwood, owing to his wide sphere of interest in public matters beyond the immediate touch of the University, seems to have occupied a position which linked in an indirect way many of the broader issues of the University with those of the city. It is exceptional to find a University Professor extending his influence over the teaching and management of day schools, acting as Convener of Local Examination Committees, a force in ecclesiastical courts and political circles, and at the same time identifying himself with

Temperance Reform and the causes of very many benevolent institutions. Many may consider it unadvisable for a Professor to do so. Certain of his colleagues were at one with him in one or other of the interests mentioned, but Professor Calderwood's horizon was, we think, peculiarly wide. In the obituary minute of the Senatus Academicus, whose representative he was on the University Court, this feature is noted as follows: "His calm judgment and wide experience, his counsels of moderation and peace, will long be missed in the administration of University affairs, and it should not be forgotten in any record of his services, however brief, that by the important public functions which, as a large-hearted citizen, he discharged outside the University—such as Chairman of the first School Board of the City of Edinburgh—he was able in a very special way to advance the best interests of the University by drawing the bonds closer between it and the community." The minute of the University Court likewise includes these sentences: "His efforts on behalf of the University Education of Women will long be remembered with gratitude by those who have reaped the fruit of these exertions. As a public-spirited citizen he has done much to strengthen the ties which bind the City to the University."

Reference has already been made to the fact that for some time he acted as a manager of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary. It may be mentioned also that, apart from his connection with University interests, he was actively connected with the National Bible Society of Scotland; the Edinburgh Free Library—where he was again associated with Professor Masson; and the Royal Scottish Geographical Society. As a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, he occasionally communi-

cated a paper to that body; and in less public ways he was still equally interested in the welfare of several United Presbyterian Societies, the Peeblesshire Society, and the Ethical Club. His connection with the political organisations of the city is mentioned separately, but a sufficient ramification of his other public interests has been referred to here to show in what a multitude of ways his active brain found employment for the benefit of his fellows.

On 9th November 1877 the freedom of his native burgh of Peebles was presented to him and to the three Messrs. Leckie (in recognition of the gift of the Leckie Memorial Church). In his reply he made humorous mention of the fact that when he had elected to enter the office of the ministry he had been warned by his father that this meant £40 a year and his peats, but that now, being a burgess of Peebles, he would expect to get his peats for nothing, and be allowed pasturage for a cow when he needed it. He then referred at some length to the work of the first School Board in Edinburgh, to the spread of primary education in Scotland, and to the devotion to mental philosophy characteristic of Scottish Universities. He thought the whole educational arrangements of the country should be regarded as a great unity, and he looked upon the Faculty of Arts in a University as one which, both by organisation and purpose, was essentially connected with the general education of the country.

He referred to his connection with education in Scotland, presumably because the Town Council's minute with reference to the bestowing of the honour, as read by the Town Clerk, alluded chiefly to this section of his work. There may also have been present to his mind the fact that already from Peebles men

like William and Robert Chambers, and John Veitch, had identified themselves with the spread of education and philosophy in Scotland. The *Glasgow Herald* (31st August 1878), commenting on the matter of the presentation, refers to Veitch and Calderwood as "the only two representatives of the Scottish philosophy," and adds, "it is certainly strange that both should have been also natives of Peebles, and, in addition, students of the same year in Sir William Hamilton's class." After mentioning the *Philosophy of the Infinite*, the writer continues, speaking of Professor Calderwood, "No one doubts he has been a success as a teacher in the Chair formerly occupied by Wilson and Macdougal. But it is the success not so much of a philosopher as of a teacher, stimulating and guiding others to philosophise, by his own power of clear and candid statement, and by the same faculty of terse and cogent logic and luminous marshalling of thought which he exhibits in debating, and which make him one of the best business men in public matters in Scotland."

We have already seen that from his student days Professor Calderwood took an interest in politics, and that his leanings were distinctly towards the side of advanced Liberalism. The University work, together with the extra duties connected with the School Board and the other public channels, made it impossible for him to devote much time to politics for several years; but in a man of his large public spirit it would have been against nature had he not sooner or later become as prominent in the politics of Edinburgh as in the other fields he entered. Several questions in which he was deeply interested had necessarily a political side, and with his natural desire for advance he gradually began, as opportunity offered, to deal with this aspect.

Disestablishment in Scotland was one of these questions, but as it did not gain marked prominence till later, and was mostly dealt with by him in the Synod debates of the United Presbyterian Church, it will be more suitably referred to in a subsequent chapter. The Social Purity Movement received his strenuous support from the commencement. With Rev. Wm. Moffat he became Joint-Secretary of the Scottish National Association for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice. For the following account of the work carried out in connection with the Association we are indebted to Mr. Moffat :—

DEAR MR. CALDERWOOD—You ask me to send you an account of the late Professor Calderwood's connection with the movement for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice. I regret that any information I can give you on this matter must needs be somewhat general, as I have now no access to the minute-books and other documents from which alone accurate details could be given.

It was in the year 1876 that I was appointed to act as Joint-Secretary, with Professor Calderwood, of the "Scottish National Association for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice and the Promotion of Social Purity." I was not very long in office before I discovered that the Association was being guided by a master-hand, and organised with a minuteness of detail and a practical knowledge of affairs that left nothing to be desired. The work that fell to us as Joint-Secretaries was no sinecure, and I was often filled with wonder at the time, strength, and labour your father devoted to it amid the multitude of his other and pressing duties. The Association was not only strong in Edinburgh, but possessed strong local Committees in almost every city and town in Scotland. This fact entailed on the Secretary, of necessity, a vast amount of correspondence, and what was equally serious, a great deal of travelling to the meetings which were held in great centres, such as Glasgow, Greenock, Perth, Aberdeen, Inverness, etc. It was my privilege sometimes to accompany

the Professor to these meetings, and much as I had learned to admire and love him before, I never realised his power more nor thanked God for him so much as when I saw him facing these great audiences of working men and women, and rousing them to a white heat of indignation against the nefarious Contagious Diseases Acts. His merciless logic, his clear incisive speech, his manifest sincerity, and his passionate assertion of the rights of the working-classes as against a new system of military police never failed to carry his audiences with him, and if the Repeal Movement in Scotland ripened both surely and intelligently to its triumphant issue, to no one man can the credit be due more than to Professor Calderwood.

But it was at the time of general Parliamentary elections that the Professor's love of hard work and genius for dealing with men of all classes and shades of political opinions were tested. At such times it is the unexpected which happens in numberless constituencies, and nothing but sleepless vigilance, unfailing courtesy, and the wisdom of the serpent can meet the emergencies of the moment. When we remember the "Conspiracy of Silence" adopted by the press on this question, the nature of the facts that had to be dealt with, and the unscrupulous opposition of the military authorities both in Parliament and outside of it, it becomes evident that the task of arousing public opinion was nothing short of stupendous. And yet this was just what Professor Calderwood succeeded in doing. Night after night I sat with him from early in the evening till long after midnight, conducting correspondence with leading men in the various constituencies during these critical election times. Ministers, churches, constituencies were flooded with literature and appeals. Public men were approached in all the professions and trades, and where advice was sought in dealing with Parliamentary candidates it was quickly and wisely tendered. If the work was hard and thankless it was none the less blessed, and sometimes the seriousness of the battle was brightened by amusing instances of the checkmating of easy-going candidates, whose sudden conversion to our views, while not speaking much for the depth of their personal convictions,

spoke volumes for the tact and tenacity of your father in influencing the voters.

But over and above all these efforts your father brought his influence to bear on public opinion in the higher circles of society. He had the courage of his convictions everywhere. One notable instance of this was seen during the visit to Edinburgh of the "Social Science Congress" in October 1880. At first it was thought that a place would be found on their programme for discussion of the Contagious Diseases Acts as bearing on questions of military and civic hygiene, but this was refused. Nothing daunted, Professor Calderwood, ably seconded by other members of the Executive, and not least by the beloved David M'Laren of Redfern, organised a most successful conference outside of the Congress, and both the public and large numbers of those attending the Congress had the satisfaction of hearing the medical and juridical aspects of the question dealt with on scientific and political grounds.

Another instance was his evidence before the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the working of the Acts. At great inconvenience to himself, but with his usual self-sacrifice, he went to London to give his evidence before the Committee. The enemies of repeal were well aware of the importance of his evidence, and he was subjected to severe cross-examination. Never did his rare qualities of courtesy, tact, coolness, and moral dignity shine more conspicuously than on this occasion, and never were the friends of repeal more decidedly of opinion that their cause had now assumed such a position as would compel Parliament to deal with the matter in some direct and final manner.

It is perhaps only right to say here that while devoting his whole heart and soul to the work of this Association, and guiding all its efforts with unfailing insight and wisdom, Professor Calderwood had behind him a body of men no less zealous than himself, and ready to follow him with absolute loyalty. When I mention such noble and godly men as David Dickson, Duncan M'Laren, James Balfour, Wm. Ferguson, Wm. Miller, Stephen Wellstood, Wm. Nairn, James Tod, Lieut.-Colonels Davidson and Young, David

M'Laren, Drs. Moir and A. G. Miller, with the Revs. J. Kelman and Dr. John Ker—all, with the exception of Duncan M'Laren, members of the Executive—you will readily understand how much he was cheered and helped in the long and arduous fight. The majority of these are, alas! with us no more, but all who know the history of our city since the year 1820 are well aware that one and all of these played no mean part in elevating the moral tone of the community, and making Edinburgh the centre of great national movements for truth and righteousness.

In closing these few scattered reminiscences, you will forgive me if I express here my deep thankfulness to God for permitting me to share to any extent in your revered father's labours in this great cause. I can never forget the day of victory. When the day of repeal came, our Executive had a closing meeting for prayer and thanksgiving. It was very touching. The anxieties, toils, disappointments, fears were all over, and the womanhood of Britain was free. It was worth while living to see that day alone.

Shortly after, your father and I met to close the office and clear out all the surplus and now useless literature. Neither of us spoke much. The room was sacred, and when at last it was depleted and the door was closed upon us for the last time, I think that behind our "good-bye" that day there was the feeling that we had both somehow closed one of the great and memorable epochs of our life.—Believe me, with much regard, yours always, W. D. MOFFAT.

By the year 1883 it is apparent that Professor Calderwood has become a person of some mark on the political platform of Edinburgh. He is chosen to speak frequently, and this, presumably, not because of any natural position or rank, but because it has been found that he is to be relied upon to express the views of his party in a clear and telling manner, or to argue a point with fitting acumen and fearlessness. In January 1884 a great national convention was held in the Freemasons' Hall for the purpose of testifying

that, in the opinion of both political parties in Scotland, an independent Scotch Office should exist in London, and that the minister at the head of it, the Secretary for Scotland, should have a seat in the Cabinet. The resolution was proposed in two motions; the first by the Earl of Aberdeen, the second by Lord Balfour of Burleigh. Professor Calderwood then followed as a supporter of the proposal, and spoke of the advantages which would accrue to education in Scotland. Other speakers treated different aspects. This resulted in the Secretary for Scotland Act of 1885, introduced by the late Lord Dalhousie.

In February 1884 Professor Calderwood's position was in a manner defined by his being unanimously elected a Vice-Chairman of the General Council of the Scottish Liberal Association. Shortly afterwards also, he was asked to become a candidate for one of the original Divisions of Edinburgh. So far as can be gathered, this request was not made to him officially by the Executive of the Association, but by an influential party of gentlemen in the Division. He did not, however, entertain the proposal, although a deputation travelled to Kilmun, where he had gone after the end of the winter session, in order to press their cause. In view of the trying manner in which his University Professorship began, more especially with regard to the Court's proposal that the subject of political economy should be taught separately, as already described, a most cordial letter from the Principal, Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., is here of pleasant interest. It is dated 5th May 1884, and runs as follows:—

DEAR PROFESSOR CALDERWOOD—I wish that you could both have kept your chair and gone into Parliament. But there were doubtless many difficulties in the way of this.

You have the satisfaction of feeling that you are doing good work in your present position, while at the same time you have secured the good opinion of your fellow-citizens to such an extent as to place the high honour of representing Edinburgh within your reach, if circumstances permitted you to accept this.—With kind regards, I am, yours sincerely,

A. GRANT.

It is evident that this letter has been carefully preserved. Under the circumstances it was natural that it should be so, for the fine spirit which it breathes would be dear to any man ; while couched as it was in such graceful and honest terms by the Principal, it had special significance for the person to whom it was addressed.

In February of this year also the remodelling of the Parliamentary franchise in counties and boroughs was taken up ; Mr. Gladstone's Franchise Bill being introduced at the end of the month ; the Redistribution of Seats question—the other leading point of his programme—being left over till the following session.

The proposed increase of the franchise naturally excited a great amount of discussion, and Professor Calderwood, with his strong views on the desirability of extending the education of all classes, advocated the measure most energetically. Not only in the city of Edinburgh but in many parts of the county of Midlothian he spoke at meetings in support of the proposal to place the rural voter on the same level as the elector of the town. He most sincerely believed that the strength of the State in our days lies in the proper application of the representative system, and he took great pride in the fact that the education and general intelligence of the masses in Scotland was already high. He had, moreover, a wide knowledge

of the mental attitude natural to his fellow-countrymen, and little fear that in the extension of the franchise an element detrimental to the State would be introduced into the House of Commons.

Never before had Professor Calderwood come so prominently before the public as a political speaker; indeed, it may be said that after being elected a Vice-Chairman of the Scottish Liberal Association his speaking in town and country on the subject of the extension of the franchise and the redistribution of seats formed his real introduction to the political platform of Scotland.

On the 28th August of this year, after the amendment of Lord Cairns had, for a time, checked the progress of the first measure, and when feeling against the House of Lords was already considerably excited, Mr. Gladstone came down to Midlothian on his third campaign. The enthusiasm with which he was greeted could have been called forth by no other person in the land. On the 29th a meeting of the Scottish Liberal Association was held under the presidency of Lord Elgin, and at this meeting the motion of the occasion was proposed in a long speech by Professor Calderwood. The resolution itself was of unusual length, being a welcome to the Premier, a vote of confidence, an approval of the conduct of the Government with regard to the Franchise Bill, and lastly a distinct reflection upon the House of Lords. This last part of the resolution ran as follows:—

> Further, they (the Council) regard the attitude of the majority of the House of Lords, with respect to this Bill, as injurious and obstructive, and as calculated not only to prevent the passing of any Redistribution Bill by the present Parliament, but to delay or endanger the more advanced

Liberal measures which the constituencies of Scotland desire that the next Parliament shall take up. They are convinced that it is necessary, in the prospect of this and other coming legislation, and in order to prevent the continual recurrence of crises similar to the present, that the constitution of the House of Lords should be reformed and its power modified.

In speaking to this last section he said they condemned the House of Lords for the rejection of the Franchise Bill, and because the Lords, while acknowledging themselves to be prepared to accept the Bill, demanded an illogical appeal to the country. He asked his hearers to notice, however, that the resolution contained no general denunciation of the Upper House, or suggested scheme of reform. He said they had no sympathy with the extremists, who would have the House of Lords abolished. They rather asked that the House of Lords should agree to reform itself. The Franchise Bill itself he did not discuss. This he had already done. It is sufficiently evident that at this time amongst the Scotch supporters of Mr. Gladstone no one was more thorough-going and genuine than Professor Calderwood. As one of the Edinburgh Executive we find him receiving the Premier on his arrival; occupying a prominent place on his platforms, and as one of Lord Rosebery's guests dining with him at Dalmeny. Without ever giving way to extravagances of enthusiasm — such were completely foreign to his nature—he had a profound respect and admiration for the great statesman, and a belief in all his early home politics. Another prominent statesman whom he used to meet occasionally in Edinburgh was John Bright. The meeting usually took place at the hospitable board of the late Mr. Duncan M'Laren, M.P., John Bright's brother-in-law. The Irish question

was now bulking as largely in the horizon of home politics as the question of Egypt and the fate of Gordon in foreign affairs. John Bright, as a man who had for years identified himself very closely with Ireland and Irish politics, was bound to be listened to with the greatest attention; and we know that on occasion, at Newington House, he expressed himself with extreme candour on the capacity of the Irish politicians of the time, and the impossibility of their honestly undertaking any suitable scheme for the government of their own country. Professor Calderwood never indulged in private denunciation, but he used greatly to enjoy the downright vigour of Mr. Bright's sentiments and expressions, as well as the briskness with which opposition to them was not infrequently taken up.

At the end of Mr. Gladstone's second administration, June 1885, people were still in ignorance as to the great statesman's views on the all-important subject of Home Rule. After the couple of months during which Parliament sat under the guidance of Lord Salisbury, when the appeal was made to the country, Mr. Gladstone issued an address to the electors of Midlothian which, while dealing with the Irish Question at considerable length, did not very precisely define his views. He spoke of the need of maintaining the supremacy of the Crown and the unity of the Empire as a governing principle, subject to which every grant to portions of the country of enlarged powers for the management of their own affairs was a means of strengthening the Empire and avoiding national danger; but he did not permit his thoughts on the subject to be interpreted as indicating any particular policy. An unknown quantity had also been introduced into the political future by the passing of the Redis-

tribution of Seats Bill in March of the same year, and much stir was naturally caused amongst local political associations.

A special meeting of the Scottish Liberal Association was called, and was presided over by the Earl of Elgin, Chairman of the Council. In the absence of the ex-Lord Advocate (J. B. Balfour) the resolution of the evening was proposed by Professor Calderwood. He could be safely asked to leap into a breach of this kind, with his command of straightforward language and his faculty of thinking when on his feet.

The motion was again one of confidence in Mr. Gladstone's Government, at the same time urging the union of local associations, in efforts for the coming general election, to secure the completion of the new registers of voters, and the organisation of the new constituencies. It may be recollected that at this time very hard things were being said about Mr. Gladstone for his conduct of the Soudanese business, culminating in the death of Gordon. While no attempt seems to have been made to defend this calamitous affair, which without doubt caused Henry Calderwood the deepest possible regret, he urges strongly that no retaliation of abuse should be made by members of the Liberal party. He dwells specially upon the needs of the moment, viz., the union of the two extremes, which were then to be found in the party, as a means to an end—the carrying forward of a Liberal policy in the government of the country. He was at a familiar task here. He ever strove to reduce differences and to draw parties together. In this instance he considered that unity was to be achieved by the keeping of two conditions: (1) By their devotion to Liberal principles; (2) by their agreeing that the will of the majority

should decide the leading actions of the party. In explanation of these two heads we have a definition which, in view of his subsequent action as an opponent of the policy of Home Rule, is of value. He defines Liberalism as government always and alone for the nation as a whole, and never for a party ; or government of the country for the sake of the interests of the country taken in its totality, never for any section of it. On the practical application of this principle as referred to in his second head he spoke at considerable length, and wound up with an appeal for union in accordance with the general principles and the decision of the majority.

By the Redistribution Act, the city of Edinburgh was divided into four constituencies, and in anticipation of the general election, which was then not far distant, Professor Calderwood was again approached with the view of his contesting the Southern Division, being that in which he lived. The very great popularity which he enjoyed, not only as a politician but as a gentleman of marked public spirit, seemed at the time to make his return as nearly a certainty as may be calculated for any political seat. On all sides his influence was now being felt, and on all sides he was known to be both an able and a strictly honourable man. Sir Alexander Grant's letter, already quoted, echoed an admitted belief at the time, when it stated that the representation of the city was within his reach. But he again declined the honour, considering that his sphere of work at the University was his immediate duty. On this occasion, however, he did without doubt most seriously consider the question, and his final decision was not rendered the more easy when a certain distinguished Minister urged him in a series of

telegrams to consent to come to Westminster. Sir George Harrison, an ex-Lord Provost of the city, then offered to contest the Division, and became a candidate. His views, however, were not sufficiently advanced to suit Professor Calderwood, and Mr. Thomas Raleigh, formerly a distinguished student in the class of Moral Philosophy, then a Fellow at Oxford, now Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council in India, was selected to fight the Division in opposition. Professor Calderwood worked hard in the interests of his friend Mr. Raleigh, and the contest was an extremely keen one, but in the end Sir George Harrison was returned.

By the end of this year it was common talk that Mr. Gladstone had accepted the policy of Home Rule for Ireland as the principal and perhaps we may say the necessary item in his programme. There may have been no connection between this and the withdrawal of the name of Calderwood from the position of Vice-Chairman of the Scottish Liberal Association, but the report of the Association for 1885 has it that by the request of Professor Calderwood his name was withdrawn.

The stirring times in Edinburgh which culminated in the general election in which Mr. Gladstone was returned for Midlothian by an overwhelming majority need not now be more than mentioned. The request had been made for a majority which would enable the Liberal Government to be independent of the Irish Nationalists, and the Irish League had issued its address, signed by Mr. Parnell, calling upon all Irishmen in England to vote with the Tories. Now, in December, it was clear from the result of the polls that if the address of the Irish National League was acted upon, the Liberals would

have a dangerously narrow majority, and Mr. Gladstone had to set himself to the task of winning back the unintentionally offended Parnellites.

It presently became evident, however, that a much more paralysing danger threatened Mr. Gladstone's party. He took up the reins of Government on 6th February 1886 with a following in the House of 334 Liberals, there being 250 Conservatives and 86 Irish Nationalists; but he had accepted the policy of Home Rule. Lord Hartington had already refused to take office in his Cabinet. Sir Henry James also declined. On the 8th of April Mr. Gladstone made his memorable speech, and people knew that a qualified Grattan's Parliament was practically the plan by which he proposed "to amend the provision for the future government of Ireland." The split in the party and the defeat of the measure is already a written history.

CHAPTER XI

GROWING INFLUENCE IN THE SYNOD

(1870–1880)

Revision of Confession of Faith—Ferguson case—Macrae case—Union with Established Church—Moderator of Synod.

AFTER Dr. Calderwood came to Edinburgh and had settled in the Chair of Moral Philosophy, he early showed that he meant to maintain his place as an effective worker in the Church of Christ. Although no longer having charge of a congregation, he counted it a joy to preach the Gospel whenever he had opportunity. When the winter session was in progress he frequently preached in Edinburgh churches, and scarcely a summer passed without his conducting services at some holiday resort.

Morningside congregation, with which the Calderwoods had connected themselves, was a church extension charge in the south-western suburb of the city. It was then vacant, but shortly afterwards Dr. King was called from London, where he had been settled after his demission of Greyfriars, Glasgow.

Thus Dr. Calderwood and he were once more associated, but on the new footing of minister and

elder. Dr. King's health during the whole time that he was in Morningside was most precarious. His nervous system seemed to have completely broken down, and often on Sunday mornings a message came to Professor Calderwood, asking him to take the devotional exercises, or possibly conduct the whole service. To these requests for help he never failed to respond, even when it meant the difficult task of preaching without adequate preparation.

After demission of the Greyfriars charge, Dr. Calderwood ceased to be a member of Presbytery or Synod; but in 1871 he was elected representative elder by the Morningside Session, and from that time onwards he was only once without a seat in the Supreme Court.

Before the close of the Glasgow period he had come to hold a distinctive place in the Synod, and had already been entrusted with quite an unusual share of its work. During the next ten years he made his way quickly into the front rank, until in 1880 the highest honour within the power of the Court was conferred upon him.

The first speech which he delivered after his return to the Synod was upon the Union question. The negotiations were still dragging along. The Articles of Agreement, which were intended to show how far the two Churches were at one upon the leading questions at issue, had been completed in 1868; but since then the hostile minority in the Free Church had gained in strength and decision. It became known that they were determined to fight the Union to the bitter end, even to the extent of an appeal to the Law Courts. They had not been over-scrupulous in their methods. The most absurd misrepresentations of the "Voluntaryism"

of the United Presbyterian Church had been spread abroad, and suspicion as to the soundness in the faith of her ministers was diligently fostered. On the other hand, in the United Presbyterian Synod the minority, although not positively hostile to union, believed that the Synod's Committee had failed to emphasise sufficiently the Voluntary principle. The trial of strength took place in 1871. The Union Committee of the United Presbyterian Church boldly asked the Synod to declare that the "Articles of Agreement" fairly represented the mind of the Church—as it was thought that such a motion would strengthen the hands of the unionists in the Free Church. This was met by an amendment which expressed willingness to unite on the basis of the Standards, but declined to give the declaration asked. In this debate Professor Calderwood spoke strongly in favour of the Committee's recommendation, and specially dealt with the speech of the mover of the amendment. "Mr. Hutton had declared that there was a moral struggle involved in the desire for this declaration. Yes, there was a moral struggle involved. They had been involved in a moral struggle by reason of certain brethren in the Free Church persistently misrepresenting the views of this Church, and invariably meeting the answer of the Committee by saying: 'You are only a Committee, and we shall not take from you any statement as though it indicated the view of the Church.' Was that, then, a moral struggle of which they needed to be ashamed?"

The motion of the Committee was carried by a very large majority, but it had no effect in kindling the dying embers of the Union negotiations. The Free Church leaders had made up their minds that they would not buy Union with the United Presbyterian

Church at the cost of serious disruption of their own. For the next two years the Committees were solely occupied in devising methods of co-operation between the two Churches, and their efforts resulted in the passing of a Mutual Eligibility Act, whereby a Free Church minister could be called to a United Presbyterian congregation and *vice versâ*. With that solitary exception the ten years' negotiations, upon which so much strength and enthusiasm were expended, ended in failure. The leaders on both sides, when they said farewell, expected to meet again in a few years, but a generation passed before the door then closed was opened again and a movement begun, which, in these latter days, is about to be crowned with success.

After the first brief moment of hesitation Henry Calderwood had remained an ardent friend of Union, and the failure of the negotiations was to him as to many others a source of deep regret.

From the Union movement two developments proceeded that tried the spirit of the United Presbyterian Church; and in both she showed herself worthy of her best traditions. In that result Dr. Calderwood played an important part.

It had been intended in the event of Union that the congregations of the United Presbyterian Church in England should join the English Presbyterian Church. But now that the Union had failed, it was a somewhat severe trial for the smaller Church to part with a hundred of her congregations, and thus weaken her strength by a full eighth. In the first instance the Synod declined to make the sacrifice, but at the instigation of several of her leading ministers in England and the strong pleading of men like Dr. Cairns and Dr. Calderwood, the Court two years later

consented to this great act of self-denial, in order that Presbyterianism in England might enter into a larger and fuller life. Thus the only immediate result to the United Presbyterian Church of the Union negotiations was such a serious weakening of her strength as has required twenty-five years of hard and earnest labour to make good. Dr. Calderwood, who supported this enlightened and unselfish policy both by speech and vote, was a member of the Committee which effected the Union, and was appointed a corresponding member of the first Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England.

Another result of the Union negotiations was the decision of the Reformed Presbyterians to throw in their lot with the Free Church instead of with the United Presbyterian. A little natural disappointment might have been excused in the Synod on learning this decision; and it was manifest in the attitude of a considerable minority, who opposed Dr. Calderwood's motion to send a congratulatory message to the Free Church when this union with the Reformed Presbyterian was consummated. That motion, which was carried in the Synod of 1876, was to this effect:—

> In view of the approaching union of Free and Reformed Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, the Synod, in the spirit of brotherly love commended by our Lord, agrees to convey their congratulations to the sister Churches in Scotland on the occasion of their union, and resolves to appoint a committee to convey these congratulations in the name of the Synod.

That motion carried on its face the generous spirit of the proposer, and was as creditable to the Synod that accepted as to him who suggested it.

A year later Dr. Calderwood had the satisfaction of reporting to the Synod how much this act of courtesy

had been appreciated by the Free Church, and how cordially the deputation were received in the Assembly. The Moderator of the Free Church, in thanking the deputation in the name of the Assembly, stated that "no men had a better right to be there than a deputation from the United Presbyterian Church, and expressed the hopes that the day might soon come when all the living Presbyterianism of Scotland would be gathered into one."

To describe the work that Professor Calderwood performed for the Synod between the years 1870 and 1880 would almost mean writing the history of its proceedings. He was upon nearly all its important committees, and took a prominent part in leading discussions.

In 1872 he proposed the motion that permitted the introduction of instrumental music into the services of the Church. Ten years before he had spoken strongly on the side of use and wont, but the times were changing, and never was man more open than he to fresh light. The organ in Claremont Church, Glasgow, had, at the command of the Synod, stood silent all those years, although several other churches, without asking leave, had quietly introduced instrumental music. In 1872 the Synod was deliberately asked by overture to give its sanction to these innovations, and the motion which Dr. Calderwood carried, although a somewhat grudging one, practically contained this assent:—

> That this Synod decline to pronounce a judgment upon the use of instrumental music in public worship, yet do no longer make uniformity of practice in this matter a rule of the Church; but the Synod urge upon the Courts of the Church, and upon individual ministers the duty of guarding

anxiously the simplicity of public worship, and press on the earnest attention of all the members of the Church watchfulness over the unity of our congregations.

As a matter of fact he was not personally converted to an appreciation of instrumental music in Church services until a year later when he made his first visit to America. There he had personal experience of its helpfulness in giving warmth and impressiveness to the service, and all his arguments against it vanished. He brought home a small Mason and Hamlin organ for use at family prayers, and ever afterwards only dispensed with instrumental music at worship when it was impossible to obtain it.

He was for years a member of the Committee on Psalmody, and assisted in preparing and issuing a new book of psalm tunes.

He was an interested and valuable member of the special committee of the Home Board that was appointed for the purpose of raising the minimum stipend, and which by dint of hard work and the generous response of richer members of the Church, succeeded in providing £200 and a manse to nearly every minister in the Church. This high standard, which indicates a regard for the comfort of the ministry not excelled by any endowed Church, was not long maintained, but it has ever since been accepted as the ideal at which the Church should aim.

In the year 1875 the Synod undertook the serious task of reconstructing its Divinity Hall. This proposal, when first made some years before, Dr. Calderwood had strongly opposed, but the increasing demands of theological education, combined with greater opportunities for employment to divinity students, convinced him, as well as the majority of the Synod, that the time

for change had come. He was a member of the Committee which worked out in detail the scheme of reconstruction and gave it the advantage of the experience he had from University teaching and methods. But probably his greatest service to the Church in this connection was the part he played in securing for the Divinity Hall the services of a man of genius, the late Dr. John Ker. Struck down by weak health and nervous debility, Dr. John Ker shrank from the responsibility of a Professorship, and consequently declined the call of the Synod to the Chair of Practical Training. At the suggestion of Dr. Calderwood, together with a generous offer of his own help, the Synod made an arrangement whereby Dr. Ker, while not undertaking the responsibility of the Chair, was left free to do the work up to the measure of his strength. As a matter of fact the plan was entirely successful. After the first session Dr. Ker's health improved, and for several years the students rejoiced in the stimulus afforded by lectures which combined extraordinary fulness of knowledge, remarkable spiritual insight, and a glowing imagination.

The Synod of 1877 was rendered memorable by the decision to revise the standards of the Church. In so resolving the United Presbyterian Church stepped out of line with Presbyterianism throughout the world, and it is not difficult to understand the hesitation with which many regarded this movement. Towards the close of 1876, and the early part of 1877, the Presbyteries of the Church were torn with discussions regarding the inadequacy of the Confession of Faith as an expression of the living belief of the Church. In these discussions it was generally acknowledged that some change was needed sooner or later, but opinion was sharply divided as to how far revision should

be carried, and as to whether the proper time for undertaking it had arrived. No fewer than four overtures upon the subject came up before the Synod of 1877, and several others never reached the Supreme Court, as Presbyteries declined to transmit them. The four overtures that did appear, possessed only this feature in common—that they dealt with the question of revision. The fourth and most important overture which had been unanimously adopted by the largest Presbytery of the Church simply asked the Synod to undertake a general and careful revision of the subordinate standards and formulas of the Church, leaving the Supreme Court to decide in what manner the work should be carried out.

In the course of the long and heated debate which followed the presentation of these overtures, Principal Harper proposed the leading motion, which was ultimately adopted unanimously and was to the following effect:—

> The Synod strongly disapproves of and condemns the conduct of those persons who, having solemnly professed to give their assent to these standards, do notwithstanding indulge in denouncing them as erroneous and unscriptural, and in impeaching their brethren of the eldership and the ministry with not believing and not preaching the doctrines of them. In respect, however, of the great importance of the question raised by the overture from the Presbytery of Glasgow, and difficulties attending it requiring grave deliberation, the Synod appoints a Committee to consider the whole subject brought up by it and report to the Synod in May 1878.

The position that Dr. Calderwood took up on revision was entirely in sympathy with that of Dr. Harper and Dr. Cairns. He admitted the necessity for it, while he deprecated the manner in which the question had been raised by its most eager supporters.

He contended that while the Church was willing to consider a revision of the terms of the Confession of Faith, and if need be to make such modifications as would bring it more into harmony with present-day thought, it had no intention of changing *its creed.* That feeling was quite evidently shared by a large majority of the Synod, and defined the scope of the Committee which was appointed. Dr. Calderwood was an active and interested member of that Committee, and took a considerable part in its discussions. Amidst great variety of opinion, three parties could be distinguished in the Committee. On the one hand there were a few older men who were thoroughly contented with the Confession as it stood, and who regarded all this outcry as a sign of the degeneracy of the age. Opposed to them were a more advanced section, who in the first instance had pressed for the substitution of a shorter and simpler creed. Between those two opposing parties was the great body of the Committee, who showed more and more clearly that they were unwilling to undertake more than the construction of a series of statements that would explain or amplify the Confession of Faith in the particular points regarded as deficient. It was to this middle section that Dr. Calderwood belonged. In an address delivered before the Liverpool Young Men's Christian Association at this time, he showed that he had no objection in principle to reconstruction.

There is a right of private judgment in matters literary and philosophic, as well as in matters theologic; and the one real danger is the neglect to exercise it. Ours is an unsettling age, because it is an age of progress. But a wider knowledge must lead to a wider faith. We are seeing more of the order, the adaptation, the symmetry of the universe;

we are seeing how much larger than was previously recognised is the demand upon intelligence at its source, and the end must be a greater faith.

In principle, therefore, he was probably more in alliance with those who sought a simpler creed, but one reason against such a course undoubtedly weighed heavily with him. He had a deep sense of the unity of Presbyterianism, and anything that would lead the Church to which he belonged to break line with the great Presbyterian brotherhood throughout the world would be strongly opposed by him. After a year's labour the Committee brought before the Synod a series of statements which, with very slight modifications, were adopted in 1879, and are now known as "The Declaratory Act." The form which that statement took was largely the work of the Joint-Conveners, Principal Harper and Professor Cairns, but as it had Dr. Calderwood's entire assent it may be taken as a fair index of his theological position. In this declaratory statement the essential Calvinism of the Church is maintained, inasmuch as the mysteries of sin, redemption, and reconciliation are traced to God and not accounted for simply by the vagaries of the human will. In harmony with this central position (or, as some might urge, in contradiction to it), the free offer of the Gospel to every man, and the responsibility which each man incurs in dealing therewith, are strongly emphasised in the first and second articles of the statement; and further, it is expressly declared that the doctrine of the divine decrees, including the doctrine of election to eternal life, is held in connection and in harmony with the truth that God will have all men to be saved.

The third article deals with man's total depravity, and

with regard to this point some members of the Committee remember that Dr. Calderwood held somewhat broad views, contending for a certain innate goodness in man. Those who are acquainted with his philosophic system, and especially his views regarding conscience, will be quite prepared for this attitude. The statement ultimately adopted was to the effect that the doctrine of man's total depravity is not held as indicating that he cannot perform actions in any sense good, but that actions which do not spring from a renewed heart are not *spiritually* good or holy—such as accompany salvation.

One of the positions in the Confession that had been most attacked was its supposed teaching on the final destiny of the heathen and of non-elect infants. The deeper sense of the mercy of God prevalent in our day, and which had deeply influenced Calderwood's own preaching, found expression in the fourth article, which declares that, while the duty of sending the Gospel to the heathen is clear and imperative, it is not required to be held that any who die in infancy are lost, or that God may not extend His grace to any who are without the pale of ordinary means, as it may seem good in His sight.

The last article of the Declaratory Statement allowed liberty of opinion on such points as did not enter into the substance of the faith, special mention being made of the interpretation of the six days in the account of the Creation.

From the extreme Voluntary section of the house an additional article was proposed which would have had the effect of committing the Synod to disapproval of the system of religious teaching in schools introduced by the Education Bill of 1870. This was opposed by

Dr. Calderwood, who expressed his agreement with the compromise effected, and stated that in his opinion it was not inconsistent with any true interpretation of the Voluntary principle.

According to his views, " they did not, in supporting a School Board, proceed upon the acknowledgment that such a Board might use compulsory taxes for teaching religion, but, on the contrary, as every one knew, they had accepted their present position as a compromise, and a compromise fitted to enable the country to move together after having provided religious instruction in accordance with the Act of Parliament."

This attitude, in which he had the support of the late Professor Duff, commended itself to the great majority of the Synod, which declined to accept the proposed additional article.

The Declaratory Act as a whole was a distinct advance upon anything that had been done by any other Presbyterian Church in the way of Creed revision, and although far from revolutionary, gave relief to many a tender conscience in accepting the Confession of Faith.

Out of the commotion arising from the demand for Creed revision two heresy cases sprang, in the first of which Dr. Calderwood took a very prominent part and was largely responsible for its happy issue. In presenting an overture for revision of the subordinate standards in the Glasgow Presbytery, the Rev. Fergus Ferguson of Queen's Park Church, Glasgow, emphasised perhaps more strongly than he would have done in other circumstances the disagreements that he believed to exist between the Confession and the supreme standard, the Bible, and in illustrating his views made statements that suggested to many of his fellow-

presbyters that he was not "sound in the faith." At the conclusion of the debate, in which his overture was rejected, one bold member of the Presbytery, an elder, proposed to libel him forthwith. Ultimately this motion was withdrawn in favour of another appointing a committee to examine his speech, as well as certain articles contributed by him to a religious magazine, and to lay before the Presbytery the specific statements made by Mr. Ferguson of which explanation was deemed desirable. Thereafter the Committee was instructed to draw up a set of questions, which, it was hoped, would be answered in such a way as to set the mind of the Presbytery at rest.

There was some justice in Mr. Ferguson's complaint that the questions were drawn up largely in the language of the Confession, and as that document itself was then under revision, it was scarcely fair to judge him accordingly. After Mr. Ferguson had given his answers at considerable length, the Presbytery declared them unsatisfactory, and thereupon he demanded a libel. The Presbytery, however, were very unwilling to take that extreme step, and appointed another committee to confer with him in the hope that mutual explanations would bring the matter to an end. The conference, however, never took place, as Mr. Ferguson was unwilling to meet with the Committee except upon conditions to which they would not agree. The Presbytery had to choose between retracing their steps or serving him with the libel that he had demanded. By a majority of fifty-six to sixteen, they decided upon the latter course.

Trial by libel is meant to be the fairest and most thorough-going method of testing the accuracy of an accusation, but in a heresy case it is open to grave

objections. If the doctrinal questions involved are difficult and complicated, as in this case they were, such a process lends itself to endless disputation, and the two parties, although very near one another in belief, get involved in discussions of small details which obscure the main issues. After long and heated debate, the whole six counts of the libel were found relevant —that is to say, the errors alleged to have been taught were adjudged to contravene the doctrines of the Church and to merit censure. Upon every count but one a fluctuating but frequently strong minority voted for irrelevancy.

The Presbytery then proceeded to proof, and upon every count, except one, voted "proven," but as in every instance appeals had been taken, the whole case came up before the Supreme Court.

It was at this stage that Dr. Calderwood became connected with the case, and by a series of motions carried the majority of the Synod with him until he had the satisfaction of seeing Mr. Ferguson restored to his affectionate and admiring people. For the leadership of the Synod in such a case he had pre-eminent qualifications. He possessed the calm judicial temperament that could keep itself unbiassed amid the heat of passion and prejudice. He was essentially fair-minded, and could resist the temptation to score a dialectic success at the expense of truth. While strongly attached to the great principles of divine grace, and even to the manner in which these had been stated in the past, he did not lay so much stress as many did on the mere form of words in which these doctrines were expressed. What was perhaps of more value than any of these qualifications, he had quick intuitive insight and appreciation for a spiritually-minded

man, and would be anxious to keep such a man in the service of the Church.

When the case came up before the Supreme Court in 1878, it soon became clear that a strong minority was prepared to stand by Mr. Ferguson at all hazards. It was equally clear that a section of the Court had already in their minds judged him, and had determined that the views which he held could not be permitted within the United Presbyterian denomination. Between these two opposing sections lay a considerable number to whom Dr. Calderwood belonged, and with whose votes the issue would ultimately lie.

After an initial struggle upon a point of form, in which Mr. Ferguson's friends were outvoted, the real battle took place over the first count of the libel. The decision upon this, it was admitted by both sides, would practically settle the whole case. The question involved was the nature of the Atonement—a doctrine upon which the United Presbyterian Church throughout its history had laid the greatest stress, and which it had ever sought carefully to guard. In the first count of the libel the doctrine of the Church was declared to be—

> That Christ, by His obedience and death, did make a proper, real, and full satisfaction to His Father's justice when He offered Himself unto God as a sacrifice for sin, securing thereby deliverance from death, spiritual, temporal, and eternal, which is the penalty of sin; reconciliation to God, and an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of God for all those whom His Father had given Him.

And the error which Mr. Ferguson was declared to have taught was:—

> That Christ, in His obedience and death, did satisfy God's justice, as that which requires a surrender of the human will to the divine, on the ground of which all men are delivered from

the penalty of sin as the annihilation of the creature, and ultimately from death to the body and darkness to the soul; and that He still continues to satisfy that justice, as in Him believers receive the gift of the Spirit, which means their deliverance from the power of sin, as the loss of the higher life of the soul.

The statements of Mr. Ferguson that were quoted in support of this supposed error were couched in language admittedly new and strange, and, as some thought, ambiguous; but the question which exercised many minds was: "Did Mr. Ferguson hold views that were really at variance with the evangelical doctrine of the atoning death of Christ?" The explanatory statement which he made before the Synod was fuller and franker than anything he had given to the Presbytery. In it he delighted his friends by showing how much he was in sympathy with the vital elements of the doctrine of the Atonement, and led many to conclude that it would not be just to either party to issue the case without further opportunity being given of taking Mr. Ferguson's additional statements into fullest consideration. This was the view which Dr. Calderwood, in moving the leading motion, sought to impress upon the Synod. In a speech distinctly favourable to Mr. Ferguson he declared—

> It was impossible to refuse acknowledgment of this, that the value of the protests and appeal depended entirely upon the evidence before the Glasgow Presbytery when the decision was given. On the other hand, it was just as clear that this Supreme Court, dealing with such a case, must take account of all that was said to-night, and take special account of what was new matter; and that there was new matter to-night he thought was beyond doubt.

He pled that, although the Church had a right to demand that all her ministers should be sound upon

the expiatory death of Christ, as the ground of forgiveness of sin, there was a large amount of speculation that might be quite consistent with acknowledgment of that central truth.

He hoped this whole Church was thoroughly agreed in this, that, while they must hold together the grand truth that Jesus Christ suffered that penalty as the substitute for sinners, it was entirely free, without let or hindrance, for all the ministers of this Church to speculate as to how it was that that great satisfaction met all the requirements of the majesty of Divine Law, and he hoped they would never think, even for a moment, to limit Mr. Ferguson in his speculation as to this question, acknowledging, as they did, that there was a vast region for speculation on that subject; and the Church would become more reverent, more perfectly humble, more confiding in God, the further and further it went into that region. He had come to two conclusions, first, that the Presbytery was essentially and entirely shut up to decide as it had decided. There was so much there of uncertainty, and so much also of clear, direct pointing towards that against which the Church must guard, that it seemed impossible the Presbytery could come to any other conclusion. But he thought Mr. Ferguson had met them to-night in a spirit so obviously inclined to explanation, to seek to understand and be understood, that he begged to move: "That the Synod sustain the decision of the Presbytery on the evidence; but, in view of the additional explanations given by Mr. Ferguson to-night, it is desirable to reserve judgment on this until the other counts in the libel have been considered."

This motion was carried by 330 to 118 against that moved by Mr. Wardrop (now Professor Wardrop) to the effect that, "while regretting that Mr. Ferguson is chargeable with using language which is ambiguous and apt to mislead, the Synod does not hold it as proved that he is in essential particulars at variance with the faith of the Church on the doctrine of the

Atonement, and therefore sustains the appeal, and reverses the judgment of the Presbytery." Upon the passing of Dr. Calderwood's motion, the protestants and appellants withdrew from the case, so that upon the other counts of the libel the judgment of the Glasgow Presbytery was allowed to stand. In view of the fact that any explanations made at the bar of the Synod were not to be allowed to influence the vote, further discussion upon the protests would have been purely academic.

A committee of nine members was appointed to meet with Mr. Ferguson and report to the Synod as to any explanations he had to offer. Dr. Calderwood was Convener of a sub-committee of three who formulated in Mr. Ferguson's presence these explanations and reported them to the whole Committee. While the majority expressed themselves satisfied with these explanations, a minority took a contrary view. It soon became evident that the battle was far from over. The Synod had, by this time, been unusually prolonged, and, as Dr. Calderwood had undertaken to be present in London in connection with the address by 1600 Nonconformists to Mr. Gladstone, it appeared likely that he would not see the end of the Ferguson case.

Dr. James Brown of Paisley, who all through had been a keen and ardent champion of the cause of liberty, called on Professor Calderwood at Craigrowan on Wednesday morning, and found everything ready for his departure to London. Dr. Brown would take no denial, and insisted that he should remain to move the motion which, if passed, would restore Mr. Ferguson to his congregation. Dr. Calderwood had, therefore, to come before the Synod without much preparation, and yet he

made a speech which was acknowledged by those who heard it, to be one of the finest efforts he had ever made.

It will take rank (wrote a correspondent to one of the newspapers of the day) as one of the most calm and lucid expositions of complicated and difficult questions that has been addressed to a church court within the memory of the present generation. Speaking without the aid of a single note, he went over, point by point, the whole ground of the five counts in the libel, with their various sub-divisions. He expressed with explicit frankness the grounds of his dissatisfaction with Mr. Ferguson's position on the points referred to in the resolution, and did not ask that the Synod should upon these points ignore the difficulties that remained. All he asked to be borne in mind was that the speculations to which Mr. Ferguson had committed himself were not followed by him in such a sense as to be dangerous.

The motion with which his speech concluded was to the following effect :—

The Synod expresses its gratification with the report of the Committee, as indicating that Mr. Ferguson holds that Christ's satisfaction to divine justice consisted in the endurance of the holy indignation of God against sin, and, in harmony with this, holds that the sole meritorious ground on which the sinner is pardoned, regenerated, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit, and ultimately saved, is Christ's sacrifice as it was completed on the Cross. The Synod expresses regret that Mr. Ferguson has committed himself to the theory as to annihilation having been inevitable if Christ had not come, and that, while holding the final separation between the righteous and the wicked, involving blessedness on the one hand and condemnation on the other, he has ventured on hypotheses as to the modes of judgment in the world to come. The Synod further regrets the course often adopted by Mr. Ferguson in extending confessional language beyond confessional significance. Accepting the explanations of Mr. Ferguson's views on the great fundamental articles of the Christian faith, the Synod agrees that he be restored to the

exercise of his ministerial functions; at the same time without curtailing Mr. Ferguson's liberty under the standards and in view of the Declaratory Statement approved for submission to Presbyteries and Sessions, the Synod tenders to him the solemn and affectionate admonition to present his doctrinal positions in such a manner as to set forth their harmony with the fundamental doctrines referred to in the first part of this resolution.

This motion was met by an amendment, suggesting further conference, which, if passed, could only have ended in one way, as Mr. Ferguson had now said all that he could say; but in the vote, the motion was carried by a majority of 142 to 90.

Thus ended a heresy case which had awakened an extraordinary amount of interest throughout the country, and had been debated in nearly every newspaper in Scotland. The point involved had been too subtle to draw the sympathies of the public towards the Presbytery, so that from first to last the manifestation of feeling had all been in favour not of the accusers but of the accused. When the vote was announced, an extraordinary scene followed. The cheering in the galleries was taken up again and again, together with the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, by an audience worked up to the highest pitch of excitement. As one writer said: "There was little in the scene to suggest the gravity of an ecclesiastical court, and a stranger might easily have supposed that he was assisting at the unexpected election of a popular candidate in a political struggle." The result of the vote was that Mr. Ferguson was given back to his faithful people, and passed on to a life of usefulness and eminence in the church which he loved.

The other case that arose out of the revision of the

standards had an opposite result, and in it Dr. Calderwood played a different part. Both in Presbytery and Synod the Rev. David Macrae of Gourock had been most vigorous in denouncing the Confession of Faith, and particularly the view that he believed to be there expressed with regard to the doctrine of eternal punishment. In the Synod of 1879, when the Declaratory Act was under consideration, he moved the following motion :—

> That whereas the proposed Declaratory Act seems to leave the Church bound to identify the Scripture doctrine of future punishment with the Westminster dogma of everlasting and unspeakable torment, the following article be introduced as Number VIII., viz.: "That in regard to the ultimate penalty of sin, the Church does not hold herself bound to the Westminster interpretation of what the Scripture says on the subject."

In speaking to his motion he declared that the Confession taught the doctrine of endless physical torment for the unsaved, which was now repudiated by the Church, and plainly indicated that his own sympathies lay with some form of the doctrine of conditional immortality and universal restoration.

Dr. Calderwood, in a powerful speech, moved the rejection of Mr. Macrae's proposal, and while treating the element of *physical* suffering as non-essential, entirely identified himself with the confessional doctrine of eternal punishment. He urged that the views set forth by Mr. Macrae involved not simply the duration of suffering or its physical nature, but rather the relationship which must exist between God and sin.

> If we say that it is inconsistent with the nature and character of God to suppose that He will go on punishing for sin, let those who argue thus tell us what is the answer to

this question—Will God and wickedness dwell together? Is that their doctrine? If that be not the doctrine—and it is an absolute contradiction of the meaning of Deity—if that be not the doctrine, is it then the doctrine that God will compel to holiness? Can this be the meaning? Does not everything that we now know with absolute certainty as to what fulfilment of moral law means, point to this—that the moral law is set before the eyes of the creature to be by him contemplated, revered, and voluntarily obeyed; and that there is no moral life which does not imply *voluntary* obedience. If this be not so, where is your doctrine of responsibility now and here? And where is your doctrine of sin? And where your doctrine of Atonement? And when all these are gone, where is your Bible and that Gospel we rejoice to preach? I have not throughout all the discussion that has gone upon this question heard anything upon the ethical considerations involved. It is a mere misleading of human thought to argue it as if it were a matter of *time*. It is simple delusion to put before the public mind the question about eternity. It is a question of moral life. In sin there is penalty, in sin there is dying. There is no coming back again to God but by purity and penitence, and no way for penitence but by faith. "Every branch that beareth not fruit He taketh away." I shall not dare to say more. The subject is too vast and too terrible, but I have risen constrained by a deep conviction to say that, unless this question is discussed before the Church solely on the ground of what moral obligation means, and what moral transgression involves, the question is not even touched.

The motion proposed by Dr. Calderwood was seconded by Dr. John Ker, and became the unanimous finding of the House. Thereafter occurred the scene which ultimately led to Mr. Macrae's exclusion from the Church. During his speech Mr. Macrae had applied the word "jesuitical" to the action of the Synod, and on being asked to withdraw it, made his position worse by defending the use of the objectionable term. Dr. Calderwood then moved that he be censured for

disregarding the authority of the Court, and by a majority this was carried. But a further motion had now been tabled, viz., that a Committee be appointed to confer with Mr. Macrae as to the views expressed in his speech, and to report.

Dr. Calderwood was not upon this Committee, and took little further action in the case, possibly because he had been the unwitting cause of its beginning. His only further intervention was at the special meeting of Synod which issued the case, when he seconded the motion which sustained the Committee's refusal to proceed with a libel. The motion was carried by a majority, but many members of Synod who had little sympathy with Mr. Macrae's views, resented this summary method. Although the result would probably have been the same, it may be questioned whether the interests of truth would not have been better served had that demand, which has generally been reckoned the inalienable right of an accused party, been granted.

These discussions and the place that Dr. Calderwood took in them serve better than anything else to illustrate his theological attitude.

He stood by all the old positions, and in particular, was strongly attached to the evangelical view of the Atonement—that view which has been set forth by Paul, Luther, Calvin, and Knox and the Fathers of the Secession Church. He thought that the man who did not set forth the atoning death of Christ as the ground of the forgiveness of sin had no Gospel to preach, and should not be an accredited teacher of the United Presbyterian Church. On the other hand, he was very open-minded with regard to many questions that some would think entered into the substance of the Faith.

He regarded with equanimity the new views promulgated by the late W. Robertson Smith and others in this country regarding the authorship of certain books of the Old Testament, and had a firm conviction that these did not touch the real question of inspiration or the abiding influence of the Word of God. On one occasion, after hearing the arguments with regard to the later authorship of the latter part of the book of Isaiah, and after examining certain portions of the text, he at once said: "There is no doubt that Isaiah never wrote these words," although, up to that time, he had accepted the traditional view. Few men at any time of life, but fewer still of ripe years, could have so quickly divested themselves of the old and accepted the new. That characteristic sprang from his love of truth, and the strong faith in God that enabled him to believe that all new light, from whatsoever quarter it came, would, in the end, make ever clearer the revealed will of God.

During the Synod of 1879 he was appointed Convener of a Committee to answer a communication that had been received from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland with regard to union. In that communication the Assembly stated "their deep sense of the manifold evils arising from ecclesiastical division in Scotland, and their hearty willingness and desire to take all possible steps consistent with the maintenance and support of an establishment of religion, to promote the co-operation in good works and the re-union of Churches having a common origin, adhering to the same Confession of Faith and the same system of government and worship." The Assembly left no dubiety that they meant to maintain inviolate the principle of the national recognition of the Christian religion, and as essential to that, the establishment

and endowment of the re-constituted Presbyterian Church; but, if that were conserved, they expressed their willingness to consider what the other Churches may state in frank and friendly conference, as to the causes which at present prevent the other Churches from sharing the trust now reposed upon this Church alone.

It is notable that Dr. Calderwood was the man selected by the Synod of 1879 to answer this communication, and we may take it as a mark of its appreciation of his ardent desire for union, and at the same time that he was then in entire accord with its views upon State connection.

The answer that the Synod made to the Assembly was, no doubt, largely drafted by him, and reflects the views which he had at this time upon union. As these underwent a change, it may be of interest to append the whole document, as illustrative of his position in 1879 upon a question to which in later years he gave so much of his time and thought.

The Synod of the United Presbyterian Church has received with much satisfaction the communication from the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland on union or co-operation with this Church and the Free Church, expressing the earnest wish of the Assembly "to consider what other Churches may state, in frank and friendly conference, as to the causes which, at present, prevent the other Churches from sharing the trust now reposed" in the Established Church. The Synod desires in the most frank and friendly way to acknowledge that the General Assembly naturally expresses its adherence to the principle of the national recognition of the Christian religion by statute, and the endowment of the Church which enters into alliance with the State, on condition of the statutory recognition of the Church's creed. In an equally frank and friendly spirit, this Synod desires to reply

to the Assembly's communication that, in accordance with the principles and history of this Church, it is impossible for this Synod to contemplate sharing with the Established Church the trust reposed in it by the State.

This being recognised and explicitly stated, the Synod would express to the Assembly its deep conviction of the importance of the Supreme Courts of the three great Presbyterian Churches of our country giving prominence to the Christian duty of seeking union of all the divisions of the Church holding the same Confession, proclaiming the same Gospel, and maintaining the same worship and discipline.

While this Synod desires to give constant heed to this duty, the Assembly of the Established Church will readily allow that the United Presbyterian Church cannot make any advance towards actual union in view of the present relations of the General Assembly to the State. Regretting the insuperable difficulties in the way of such advance, the Synod nevertheless gladly approaches the question of co-operation of the three large Presbyterian Churches in order to contend against existing immorality and impiety, and promote Evangelical religion in the land, by the faithful preaching of the doctrines of our common Standards. The Synod thinks it well to indicate its conviction that much may be done towards a more effective struggle against abounding immorality and impiety, if all the three Presbyterian Churches maintain as nearly as possible common lines of discipline, and if each of the Churches carefully respect the discipline of the other two Churches.

The Synod would further indicate that there may, with great advantage, be co-operation of the Churches both at home and abroad, in seeking the advancement of Christ's kingdom, more especially in the planting of new Churches in our large cities and elsewhere, the selections of sites should be made with such regard to the relative positions of sister Churches as to give promise of a wise occupation of the country, and thorough provision for its religious wants, in the event of the ultimate union of the three Churches.

Further, in view of the great field of Missionary enterprise yet before the whole Christian Church, it is desirable that

there should be a regularly constituted channel of communication between the Supreme Courts of the Churches, so as to utilise to the utmost the powers of each of the Churches, making the Mission work of each Church harmonise with the work of the other two Churches in the same or in contiguous fields, and thereby securing such unity of discipline and action in all parts of the foreign field as we may reasonably aim at securing in our own country.

In conclusion, the Synod desires to assure the Assembly that it cordially welcomes the opportunity afforded for interchange of communication on points so vitally important as the union and co-operation of different Churches in the land holding a common Confession, and maintaining a common worship.

It is needless to say that, with both parties rigidly adhering to irreconcilable positions, incorporating union was impossible, but it is perhaps to be regretted that the very friendly suggestion for co-operation made in the Synod's communication received no response in the Assembly's deliverance of the following year.

In the year 1880 Dr. Calderwood was unanimously elected to fill the Moderator's chair—the highest honour which the Church can bestow. Two things were notable about this appointment. Although an ordained minister, he held his seat in the Court as an elder, and was probably the first elder called upon to preside over the Synod. Another distinctive feature in his election lay in the fact that it was only twenty-three years since he was ordained, and thus he was still some distance from the age when men are usually raised to the chair. During his Moderatorship he was far from well, and few knew the effort of will that was required to get successfully through the trying labours of the office. It was generally recognised that he made one of the best Moderators the Synod ever had. Thorough

knowledge of the business, power of quick decision, and manifest impartiality commended his conduct in the chair to almost all. The humblest member could be sure of getting fair play, and the most prominent had to learn that he could count upon nothing more. When a leading member of the Court tried to stir up the dying embers of the Ferguson case, he was quickly ruled out of order, and when he sought to have his reasons of dissent entered in the Minutes, so thoroughly did the Court appreciate the Moderator's ruling that it refused to receive them.

Dr. Calderwood had now reached the acme of his Synodical influence, and for the next few years he, more than any one, guided its general business and carried the leading motions. In a certain sense, the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church acknowledges no leaders. In that democratic assembly every man does what is right in his own eyes. As a frequent eye-witness of its meetings at that time wrote: "There is here no Right or Left, Ministerialists or Opposition, and therefore no *Cave*. The tendency of this Church, blessed so long with peace within its walls, is to individuality rather than cohesion."

It is not, however, inconsistent with that fact, that there should be a few men in the Court who have a preponderating influence, who are looked to for guidance in times of difficulty, and who may always count on carrying with them a large number of votes by the weight of their personality. From 1878 to 1885 Calderwood, more perhaps than any other, took this prominent and leading part. It may be of interest to sum up here the qualities in him that led to this result. Although a clear, impressive, and convincing speaker, he could never be called impassioned. Greater

orators in that sense the Synod had. In Dr. Cairns and Dr. Ker it had two men who could deeply move the feelings and sway the emotions. Dr. Calderwood, on the other hand, almost entirely appealed to the understanding and to the clear sense of right and wrong. He aimed at carrying with him the convictions of his audience.

Apart altogether from his debating power, there were other qualities in him that were of great value to the Court. He was possessed of a rare business talent, and had the faculty of grasping the details of a situation. No one could see better the way through the mazes of an intricate debate, and when discussion wandered into by-paths, bring it back to the main question. He seldom originated motions, at least in the days of his greatest Synodical influence, but intervened, usually towards the close of a debate ; and by gathering up the general sense of the House, expressed it in the motion that carried the day. His mediating type of mind inclined him to the position that lay between extremes, and thus he appealed mainly to those who were not strongly committed to either side.

He possessed also many personal qualities that fitted him to be a leader in a democratic assembly. He was transparently honest, free from the least taint of manipulating the business for private ends ; he had never any local or party end to serve. His manifest desire was to see that the true feelings of the House should be ascertained, and that every man who had anything to contribute to the debate should be welcomed into the arena.

One who knew him well, refers to this characteristic : "I remember Dr. Calderwood saying to me that he often looked round the Synod with a feeling that there were a great many there who ought to share in

the Synod work, and did not." When the young men of the Church in later days began to take a more prominent part in the business, no one was more unfeignedly pleased than he.

Another characteristic of his Synodical influence, in the opinion of those who watched his career was, "his constant endeavour to lift the manner of conducting business on to a higher level, and to elevate the spirit of Synod actions." "In the old Queen Street days," writes one of the members, "Synod business was conducted in a much freer or looser way than now. Proposals could be sprung upon the Court with scant notice. There were few rules to guide and guard the transaction of business, and consequently it was much easier for practised men to get what they wanted." The whole weight of Dr. Calderwood's influence from the first was to change that, and make the conduct of Synod business worthy of the weighty matters they had in hand. An incident illustrative of that characteristic is remembered by many. An important report was before the Synod, and the different items were being rushed through in order that the Synod might close within five days and beat the record for quick despatch of business. Resolutions of great public interest and containing highly debatable matter were being settled with a few shuffles of the feet, when Dr. Calderwood intervened, and expressed the feeling in many minds when he said that this method of dealing with the report was neither in keeping with the dignity of the Court nor the importance of the subject on hand.

In a later chapter we shall refer to the change that took place after 1886 in his Synodical position, but the qualities mentioned remained with him to the last, and made his power felt, even when his views were disapproved of by the great majority of the members.

CHAPTER XII

SECOND VISIT TO AMERICA

Voyage across Atlantic—Reminiscences by Principal Hutton—Trip through Canada—Niagara—Pan-Presbyterian Council—Morse Lectures on Science and Religion—Perilous voyage home.

IN September 1880 Dr. Calderwood set out on his second visit to America with the double purpose of attending the Pan-Presbyterian Council and of delivering the Morse Lectures. Five years earlier he had taken a deep interest in the inception of the Presbyterian Alliance. The Council originated in a desire manifested both in this country and in America to have some outward visible bond uniting all the Presbyterian Churches throughout the world. While carefully disclaiming all power of interference with the creeds and administration of the Churches forming part of the system, it specially set before itself "the duty of giving help to such of their number as were weak and persecuted, of combining the energies of all in the evangelisation of mankind, and of presenting a united front to the world's evil."

The hopes that gathered round the inauguration of this great scheme have perhaps, like most of our hopes, been subject to disappointment, but there can be no doubt that the meetings of the Council have helped to promote the cause of unity and brotherly feeling.

When the idea of the Alliance was first mooted in this country, Dr. Calderwood was enthusiastic in its support. He brought up an overture to the Synod of 1874 urging the Court to take its share in this movement, and he proposed the motion which committed the United Presbyterian Church to a place in the Alliance.

He was appointed a delegate to the first Council Meeting in Edinburgh in 1876, with regard to which he took a considerable part in preliminary arrangements, but almost no share in its deliberations.

In the Council which met at Philadelphia in 1880 he was quickly recognised, writes one who was present, as one of its leaders. "His position as Joint-Convener of the Business Committee gave him a prominent place from the first, but apart from that, his personal qualities at once showed themselves in speech, so that he was listened to as one whose words shape action, and can be trusted to shape it wisely."

He sailed from Greenock in the s.s. *Anchoria*, on the evening of the 20th August, and, after a day of misery found his sea-legs. It was characteristic of him that he at once began to be helpful to others. To more than one member of the ship's company he played the good Samaritan. There was one specially who had resigned himself to his fate, and insisted on keeping below, whom he enticed on deck by persuasive force, and was at length rewarded by seeing him enjoy the billows with the best of them.

On the 1st September, after being five days out, he writes :—

1st September.

Not till now could I attempt to write since leaving Moville, and now we are nearly on the Banks of Newfoundland. The roll is still so constant that it is hardly possible to write

distinctly. We have had no quiet weather since we left the Irish coast, and the consequence has been a great deal of sickness and suffering. My share began on Friday night and did not finish till Sabbath morning; but since then I have been quite well, and on that day was able to address a gathering in the cabin.

The incidents of the voyage were few, but the various types of character arrested his attention, and to these there are several amusing references in his letters.

3rd September.

We have a wonderful mixture of people, and quite a study it is to see the differences of nature spring up. I shall try to give you specimens, as my head is steady now, though my hand is not allowed to be. A Scotchman long in America speaks as to the caution of the Scotch. "Caution is not the word, sir, I don't like it, sir; I don't like it, sir. It is an English lie. The Scotch are daring, self-sacrificing, inventive. They are not cautious. Their great fault is this, they always stand on principle. That's their ruin, sir,—principle hinders them." I said, "But you believe that a man is to make a stand on principle?" "No, sir, I don't. I believe a man is to guide himself by policy,—to be sharper than his neighbour, to over-reach him, and cheat him if he can." I said, "If that be made the rule, the same thing will go into political life and the government of the country." "That is the trouble, sir, and we are having it in America,—we are on the way to a worse tyranny than Europe ever saw." "That is the consequence of the over-reaching plan," I replied.

Principal Hutton, who was a fellow-traveller across the Atlantic and co-deputy to the Alliance, has favoured me with a short sketch of the voyage, which I append beneath.

DEAR MR. WOODSIDE—You ask me for some reminiscence of Professor Calderwood on the voyage to America in 1880, and in the Pan-Presbyterian Council of that year. I have

much pleasure in meeting the desire, although imperfectly, to bring into view various aspects and circumstances of a life like his, suggestive in its most transient movements ; and not less as it recalls to me a friend whom I had long learned to value for distinguished qualities of mind and heart which made him an influence and ornament of society and the Church, and cherished in private life. It was boarding the *Anchoria* at Greenock, off Prince's Pier, August 26th 1880, ascending from the tug, that I descried Professor Calderwood at the top of the gangway, with his ever-kindly welcome. He bade good-bye to friends around, including Mr. Hugh Barnett, happily still with us, and also some of mine, seeing me off, who have since like himself passed to a better shore. I cannot forget his tender courtesy in these brief partings. The voyage proceeded favourably although lasting from 26th August, when at 9.30 P.M. anchor was weighed, till the morning of 6th September. The *Anchoria* had just been refitted after an accident, and was in excellent order. Mr. Henderson, one of its owners, his son and daughter were on board mingling with the company in the saloon, which was large and largely American, including not a few clerical and scholastic tourists returning from the Old World, full of enthusiasm, besides several delegates to the approaching Council from our own home Churches and the Continent. In such society and atmosphere a diffused fame of personalities easily went abroad and marked Dr. Calderwood who, always affable and cordial, soon found himself at home with all, and became a recognised source of light and leading, as he took his part unaffectedly whether in the grave conversations or relaxations of deck or cabin. He proved a good sailor. Twenty years before, crossing the Channel with him from France on his way home from a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Geneva, I had occasion to know his staying powers. I can see him still in my mind's eye, clad in true waterproof gear, the oilskin of the forecastle, breasting the gale, or, as hooked together we paced, if pacing it could be called, the mobile deck, or shrunk into passing shelter, from the wave pursuing us over the bulwarks. The *Anchoria*, though of strong build and many comforts, could not secure its inmates against the sickness of the deep. Dr. Calderwood

was the good Samaritan to more than myself, and while I was kept in durance below he never failed to be looking in with his cheery word and remedial efforts, keeping sea-legs throughout, excepting a brief interval of one day, when, feeling out of sorts, he sent his message of kind inquiry.

A special association sprang up on deck and at table with a Philadelphian family belonging to the Society of Friends. It consisted of Dr. Smith, a physician, his wife, and some younger members. Dr. Calderwood had introduced me to the Rev. Dr. Henry Wallis Smith, parish minister, Kirknewton, and it happened that a trio insensibly formed itself, and that, when gathered with unbroken ranks, the three of us sat at table opposite the Philadelphian friends. Dr. and Mrs. Smith seemed generously to take us as strangers into their hospitable regards, and, treating us as a kind of Scottish unity, showed us much attention, and nothing could exceed their kindness to the worst sailor. They invited us to become their guests during our stay in Philadelphia, which pre-arrangements obliged us gratefully to decline. It was, however, fixed that we should visit them in their home. It anticipates the order of events, but it may be stated here that this engagement was fulfilled and the courtesies of the *Anchoria* renewed under brighter conditions. Besides the domestic entertainment and introduction to their circle, they drove us around amid the objects of interest in that famous city, giving us the opportunity, among other things, of visiting some of the public schools, where we saw to advantage young America, and were invited to address the assembled pupils. Having left Philadelphia earlier than Dr. Calderwood and Dr. Wallis Smith, I saw no more of our hospitable friends, who added to their kindnesses a parting memento. I received, as one of the three, an edition of Whittier's poems conveyed by the hand of Dr. Wallis Smith on his return to Scotland, which I take from the shelf with grateful memories of the friends of the *Anchoria*. These details are slight, but may suggest something of the fellowships of the voyage and its outcome, to which the Professor brought unique contribution. Dr. Wallis Smith, now many years deceased, is linked in my thought of these episodes with Dr. Calderwood. Both were of the finer

moulds. What the Professor was all know, and Dr. Wallis Smith I found a much like-minded Christian brother, with whom it was easy, as it was profitable, to exchange thoughts on public questions or other great interests of truth and life.

Returning to the voyage, the monotony was pleasantly broken at intervals by the ingenuities of an informal committee, of which Dr. Calderwood might justly be called a mainspring and executive, for various common purposes. The Lord's Day services were regularly maintained. We had on board a Canadian bishop, who had his own meetings for worship at hours mutually arranged, while he appeared at some of the other religious gatherings. Professor Calderwood preached at the Presbyterian or United Service in the saloon on Sabbath 29th August. Mr. Wightman, U.S., Dr. Wallis Smith, and Mr. Buscarlet of Lausanne also took part.

It was a refreshing occasion, with the devotional warmth of prayer and praise and the power of the Word. The steerage and crew were not forgotten by Dr. Calderwood and co-workers. The secular socialities were well guided. Apart from other impromptus, the saloon two nights running became an academy of music, a lecture hall, a drawing-room with its pastimes. Dr. Calderwood did not scruple to share in the lighter efforts. When called upon to do "something," I recollect how he gave a most interesting and instructive account of the early life of the late Mr. Spurgeon while yet a boy-preacher, amusing the audience by his graphic rendering of the story of the venerable pastor to whose assistance, one Saturday, young Spurgeon was sent, and his scandalised exclamation as the fact dawned on him. "What! a boy to preach! a boy to preach!" Alternating with this might come instrumental music, or a select song, or a young American lady's recital of "Hiawatha." More intellectual entertainment was also successfully attempted in the form of lectures on philosophic or scientific subjects. An American minister lectured on "Nirvana," and before dinner, 3rd September, Professor Calderwood himself delivered a lecture on "The Relation of Science and Popular Thought," characteristic of his philosophical system, and much appreciated. As superintending arrangements for Sabbath services in the saloon,

Dr. Calderwood asked me to preach on the 6th September, which I did. With care and exactness entering into all details, he handed me an intimation for a collection in behalf of some benevolent object, which was read. It was written in full on a sheet of ship paper in his own clear script. This has been curiously rendered memorable to me. Unconsciously preserved at the moment, the intimation turned up long after among some sermon leaves. The simple relic was spared, and met my eye not long ago.

The voyage was completed in fine weather, and after the bustle of exit at New York Custom-House, which we passed through with little delay, the Professor and I drove for temporary purposes to the Astor House; thereafter to the banking office of Mr. Kennedy, another "Gaius" honourably known among us, whose guest Dr. Calderwood was to be. Here we were courteously entreated, our money exchanged, and a guide sent with us to facilitate progress by the elevated railway, which was, I think, a first experience to both, as it whirled us along in mid street, parallel to the second story windows. We visited, *inter alia*, Cook's Tourist Offices, where travelling coupons were made up. We were introduced at the counter to the famed author of *Monday Lectures*, the Rev. Joseph Cook of Boston, who was gratified to meet the Scotch Professor.

Shortly after we separated, amid the melting heat of New York, to proceed on our several routes, hoping soon to reunite at the Council Meeting. But, returning southward from the maritime provinces of the Dominion, it happened that I reached the Delavan House, Albany, N.Y., at a late hour on the 21st September, to find, to my agreeable surprise next morning, Dr. Calderwood at the breakfast table. Our plans were similar—to proceed that day to New York by the swift steamer on the Hudson. This we did, finding on board an esteemed co-delegate, the Rev. James Dodds, now of Corstorphine; and enjoying a delightful sail, as we marked historical points and witnessed the scenery on the noble river.

After arrival in America, Dr. Calderwood had a run through a considerable portion of the States and

Canada. Saratoga, famed for its mineral springs, was the first resting-place, and appears in some respects to have impressed him unfavourably.

7th September 1880.

As we came towards Saratoga I saw in the distance, on the right, the green mountains of Vermont, through the midst of which I had passed before, and on the left the Adirondack mountains, which are the rugged highlands of this country. Saratoga is Vanity Fair—gaiety on all hands, with the evils which cluster round such scenes—self-indulgence and sin.

Thence he proceeded by Lake George to Montreal, and was specially charmed with the sail up the lake.

10th September.

The sail up Lake George is splendid; the hills, grandly wooded and rising to a great height, rolling on and on away behind each other to a great distance, while the water of the lake is beautifully clear. The style of scenery closely resembles that of Loch Katrine and Loch Lomond. It is exceedingly striking in its varied effects, greatly heightened by the fact that the lake is studded with islands, most of which are occupied by persons who have erected beautiful houses. The lake is the summer resort of a great many families, so that shores and islands are studded with villas.

In Canada he came across quite a large number of people who could establish some sort of acquaintance-ship with him, and his stay there was made memorable by a visit to his lifelong friend and old fellow-student, Dr. King of Toronto. He writes from his house of the great pleasure he had in hearing him preach and in preaching for him: "We had a beautiful day yesterday for Sabbath rest and calm—a clear sky, clear air, and warmth to suit Toronto people, fully warm for imported strangers." He is struck with the great improvement in Toronto since his previous visit.

From that city he writes :—

TORONTO, *14th September* 1880.

The aspects of the city are greatly improved since I was here. The wide sandy streets, which looked dry and dusty then, have been enclosed by footpaths, and turf laid down under and on both sides the rows of trees. There is thus a greensward on both sides of the street, adding greatly to the attractive appearance, and the trees all up the streets have grown, giving the appearance of an avenue. Altogether the effect is very fine—long ranges of streets, one after another presenting to the eye the exceedingly pleasing effect of avenues with drives in the centre and a shady footpath on both sides. This plan has been uniformly carried out as the street has been extended, and the result is a city the finest in outline that I have seen almost anywhere. There is not the singularly grand situation of Edinburgh, but I hardly know any town on a comparative level presenting so many attractions as a place of residence as Toronto does.

There are some quaint things in the streets here, which catch the eye, one of which I must write down; it was the sign-board above the shop of a man who works at the repair of umbrellas—it was "Hospital for Umbrellas." There was quite a large number of friends here to meet me last night, and a singularly Catholic gathering, including Presbyterian, Baptist, Episcopalian, and Methodist, six ministers, and a great many laymen.

A flying visit to Orillia enabled him to get a glimpse of an Indian settlement in which he was deeply interested. On his way back through Toronto he gave a lecture to the teachers, of which he gives the following account :—

18th September 1879.

A little before eight o'clock Mrs. King came in, and we all went across the street to the hall of the Model School, where I was to give a lecture on "Mind and Brain" to the teachers of Toronto and others interested. The Minister of Education for the province, Mr. Crocker, took the chair.

He made rather a lengthened speech on Scotch philosophy and my work on the subject. There was a large audience, including medical men, professors, lawyers, etc. I had my diagrams from New York, which were a great help. The audience was very attentive, and greeted the lecture with much applause, so that I may hope some good was done.

The next letter (written to his wife) is from Niagara Falls, which he went out of his way to visit for the second time, and reveals how Nature in all her moods had a great charm for him. He never wearied gazing on her face.

CLIFTON HOUSE, NIAGARA FALLS,
18th September.

Here I am once more at Niagara, enjoying the scene more than words can express,—and longing as I have not longed all the while that you were with me to drink in the pleasure and surprise, which cannot be had without seeing for yourself. I arrived about noon and have had a grand afternoon, and a beautiful full moon to light up the scene in the evening. It is glorious! I am rightly placed this time in the Clifton House, on the Canadian side, with my bedroom so placed that I look directly out to the Horse-Shoe Fall. Coming out from the hotel door and looking sharp to the left, the American side of the fall is directly opposite, falling directly down in one unbroken sheet, tumbling its waters on the large masses of rock which have fallen away and are lying quite visible at the foot, where the spray rises in clouds and floats down the river before a good stout breeze. The only break in the continuous fall is at three places where there must be a projecting rock, catching the water and giving the appearance of outstanding pillars. Keeping up this side of the river there comes next opposite you Goat Island, with its rough edges and its waving trees, then the Horse-Shoe Fall, which has considerably altered since I was here. The complete curve has been broken by the falling in of part of the rock. The consequence is a more varied effect—the waters tumbling over the sharp edge in the middle in such a way as to show the light blue effects of the waters, passing almost into green.

But the most striking thing is an effect which was new to me —at intervals of about a minute or a little more, an unusually high rush of spray upwards occurs, as if there were some explosion. I asked the keeper of a gate a little farther up how he thought it was to be accounted for, to which he replied that it had been seen ever since the rock fell in, from which he inferred that a mass of rock was lying so as to dam back part of the water, which at last escapes, and the next tumble over is dashed into spray. I went wandering on quite away above the fall to the rapids, where I had some fine views, saw the spray go off in jets almost as if fireworks were being exhibited. As I came down this way, the sun behind, and the spray in front, I saw a great many rainbow effects, my wish ever returning that you could only stand with me and see it all. The sight was glorious. Then after dinner I came up to my bedroom, threw open the windows and outside venetians, got my table to the opening, and sat down to write my article for the General Council. I never had a more bewitching study. Ever as I wanted to think out the form into which to throw my notes, I stepped out on the balcony and walked back and forwards, with both falls full in view, till sunset drew on, and I began to see a succession of striking effects.

On his return from Canada he made his way by New York to Philadelphia, where he arrived on 23rd September, in time for the opening of the Alliance.

Of the preliminary meeting of friends the following letter gives a glimpse :—

I went straight to the Presbyterian House, where I was introduced to the Chairman of the Arrangements Committee and to Dr. Crowell, whose guest I was to be. . . . Very soon I found a whole gathering of our United Presbyterians, to whom I had to attend, Mr. James, Mr. and Mrs. Moffat, Mr. Thin, Bailie Anderson, Mr. Logan, Mr. Corsar, Dr. Hutchison, etc. Some of the delegates were not on the roll in the hands of the clerks, the other friends could not get tickets without negotiation ; and, as they were hungry and I

was not specially so, I undertook the business and let them go to their hotels to make a serious impression on the viands. I went with Dr. Crowell to hunt up Dr. Matthews, and came back with all instructions for the clerks. Next, a reporter was waiting to interview me, wanting to know all about the positions of the Churches in Scotland, and the several delegates. I did the best I could to satisfy him, and then got off with Dr. Crowell, taking with us to her quarters on our way up Miss Blaikie, daughter of the Professor. At the reception in the evening the delegates were taken to a special room for a while of conversation and introductions. Such a lot of Scotchmen! It looked like Edinburgh; and then I picked up so many Americans, or they picked me up to such an extent that I was kept busy talking "all the time." . . . Our Scotchmen included Cairns, Hutton, Wardrop, Hutchison, and those already mentioned.

24th September.

The meetings began yesterday by assembling of the delegates in one of the churches, from which we marched in procession to the Academy of Music, a large opera-house with sloping floor and three galleries, seated for two thousand five hundred, and must have contained a thousand more, it was so crowded. The sight was most imposing. Dr. Paxton preached with great freedom and power, clear, graceful in gesticulation, and very good. I send a paper with the sermon in full, and some account of how I was interviewed by a reporter.

In the meetings of the Alliance, Dr. Calderwood took a distinctive place.

The records of the proceedings (writes his co-delegate, Dr. Hutton) show that Professor Calderwood was one of its most prominent and effective members. A man of affairs, as well as of trained faculty, he inevitably came to the front in business, and in more general discussion, whether the latter turned on the subject of liturgies, creeds, Bible revision, Theism on the mission field, admission to the Alliance, the official volume, or "The Relations of Science and Theology."

A paper which he read on the latter theme, along with a paper by Dr. M'Cosh, awakened much interest and valuable debate. Various speakers referred warmly to the debt they owed to the writings of Dr. Calderwood. The esteem in which he was held showed itself by the marked attention with which he was listened to on all occasions, and the duties assigned to him. The work of reporting to the Council, the matters of the Business Committee fell largely to his care, and in expounding and defending its proposals he was called upon to speak oftener and on a greater variety of details than most members. The Committee on Preliminary Arrangements proposed him to the Council, and he was chosen as first President of the Session, after the opening function; and the important closing duty was laid upon him of expressing the grateful thanks of the Council to local friends for their overflowing kindness to the delegates, and the sense they had enjoyed in their proceedings of the Master's presence.

This closing address, so suitably expressed, I only later read, having, with several delegates, left to catch the homeward steamer.

Dr. Calderwood sailed a week after, and again by the *Anchoria*. The trials of that passage are known to his friends. His impression of the peril and merciful preservation of all I learned from himself. Let God be praised, He has much to do for and by those He spares, and He had yet much in store of remaining work, with its lights and shades, in the Church and in the world for His honoured servant before calling him to his rest.

The paper which he read before the Council was upon "The Relations of Science and Theology"—the same subject practically as was afterwards more fully treated in the Morse Lectures. As reference will immediately be made to these, detailed description of the paper is unnecessary. The main points insisted on were:—

(1) The distinctness of the spheres of science and theology; (2) the closeness of the relations between the

two. Theology cannot dwell apart from science, though it is quite possible that science may exist apart from theology.

A profession of concern because of the progress of science is weakness. Such apprehension betrays mistrust of scientific methods, which is a challenging of human intelligence; but, in its worst light, from a Christian point of view, it is mistrust of the testimony of creation from those who proclaim unwavering trust in the Creator and in the truth—the grand certainty that all His works praise Him. It is, therefore, one essential part of the task entrusted to the Christian Church to banish from its borders mistrust of science. (3) The point most pressing for consideration is that theology has been specially assailed from the regions of *scientific inference.* Theology has not been assailed by science, the impossibility of which assault has been indicated; but by scientific men distinguished in various departments of science it has been met by a distinct refusal to recognise the supernatural. It may seem only a verbal difference to say that it has been assailed by recognised scientific leaders, not by science; but the difference between science itself and the application which scientific men make of scientific conclusions is immense.

Two practical considerations he pressed home in closing the paper. The first was:—

In view of the immense advance in scientific knowledge, and the admitted conflict as to the legitimate inferences from this knowledge, the interests of the Christian Church require among its adherents, and especially among its ministers, some devoted to the study of distinct departments of science. It is a legitimate claim on the part of scientific men that the defenders of theology give evidence of possessing ample scientific knowledge.

The other consideration was:—

The distinct obligation resting upon the accredited teachers of the Church to shun general charges against science and general attacks upon scientists.

It is to be remembered that scientists as a body do not

participate in attacks upon the Christian faith, and more especially that those who make these assaults, in doing so, do not act as scientists. That they are scientific men, it is true; that they are engaged in scientific work at such a time is not true. And if they claim that their criticisms are to be sheltered under the name of science and their theories deferred to as scientific, there is the clearest evidence on which to urge that this is "science falsely so called."

Other important subjects upon which he spoke at the Council were the uses of a liturgy and the value of creeds. With Professor Hitchcock's paper advocating a permissive use of a liturgy, he expressed himself highly pleased, and, in the course of the debate, made the following significant utterance :—

If we find a liturgy to be helpful, under any circumstances, there is not that under our system which will withdraw from us the liberty of its use; but we will not be bound down by any liturgy which will require us to go a certain round in the service of God's house; and, above all, it shall never happen in the experience of any Christian minister in our Church that he will find himself debarred from distinct and immediate reference to the great wants of a people, simply because there is no form laid down.

On the subject of creed subscription he was more conservative :—

The fidelity of the Church is quite above the liberty of the individual in the Church, and the fidelity of the Church is its fidelity to its Master and to the great work which the Church has to do in instructing mankind. Accordingly, we must put the responsibility of the Church for its teachings altogether above any liberty which may belong to the individual in respect to his own teaching.

On the 29th September he writes :—

Our meetings are getting on very well. We have a few members always keen to speak, and always disposed to speak

in strong language. This makes it needful to put on checks, but with this exception we have great comfort and encouragement. As Joint-Chairman of the Business Committee I get a good share of work, but I am keeping well and being introduced to folk at such a rate that I remember only a few. One pleasant part of my experience has been the meeting of a good many of my former students. Dr. Cairns gave a splendid paper yesterday on the Atonement, clear, guarded, earnest as usual. It will, I do not doubt, be of great use. Dr. M'Leod of Birkenhead gave great gratification to the audience last night. We have now discussions in the evening as well as in the morning, and last night three of the judges of the United States took part on the subject of Sabbath Schools.

My spirits get up now as I see October come near, and think of getting to my beloved home, where is rest and strength and gladness for me; but in all this I fear lest I be selfish.

1st October.

Our closing meeting takes place to-morrow, and thereafter we have only a series of sermons and Sabbath evening meetings for the public; after which, under the good keeping of our Father, we get away for New York. Last night we had a great missionary meeting, when no fewer than eight missionaries addressed the house, one an Indian chief, another a negro, and to-night we are to have M. Eugène Reveilland from Paris, the great French orator who has been brought over to the Protestant cause and has done an immense work in influencing his fellow-countrymen. Rev. T. T. Dodds, son-in-law of Dr. Horatius Bonar, has come with him as interpreter. The meetings have been wonderfully successful, the house crowded, the papers good, and the discussions usually effective.

2nd October 1880.

We had a fine day at the Council yesterday, and this morning we hold our closing meeting for despatch of business, and for a farewell hour of devotion and address. The meeting last night, when representatives from Bohemia, Spain, Italy, and France addressed the Council, was a grand sight. The great Academy of Music was crowded, all the stage

filled, and the three galleries up to the roof; besides an overflow meeting had to be held, filling the Agricultural Hall. The interest in the Academy rose to its height when M. Eugène Reveilland was introduced. He gave a most eloquent speech, which was rendered into English with great facility by Mr. Dodds. M. Reveilland declared that France was preparing for a baptism of the Spirit, and if the murderers of the Huguenots could rise from the dead, they would hear the very psalms sung which the Huguenots were wont to sing.

These meetings, which for effectiveness and power were among the best ever held in connection with the Pan-Presbyterian Council, and linger still in the memory of many delegates, were brought to a close on 2nd October by a fitting address from Professor Calderwood. In that last utterance he gave expression to the sense they all had of the presence of God amongst them, and the quickening of Christian fellowship that it had brought.

If there be one thing upon which we would specially dwell, I think it is this, that we have been favoured to see the evidences from all parts of the world of how the blessed and glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ is winning its way. We have heard from far-distant lands, from the islands of the sea, from the continent of Europe. We have heard, with intense interest, of that stirring throughout the whole extent of France, which we together unite in hoping and praying will become a great national movement in acknowledgment of Jesus Christ our blessed Saviour.

Acknowledging as we all do these tokens of divine goodness and love, I think that we rightly close, if, uniting in heart and soul, we desire that God would grant unto us, as united churches in this Alliance, an increase of the power of Christian faith, that He would grant to us yet more of the ardour and the power of brotherly love, and above all would give to us more of the spirit of complete consecration to the grand purpose of our Master, when, coming forth from the

tomb victorious, He said, "Go, go, even to the ends of the earth, and preach the Gospel to every creature."

At the close of the meetings of the Pan-Presbyterian Council Dr. Calderwood proceeded to New York, where, in the chapel of the Union Theological Seminary, he was to deliver the Morse Lectures. This lectureship was founded by Mr. S. T. B. Morse (the inventor of the magnetic telegraph), who in the trust-deed defined the subject of lectureship as the relation of the Bible to any of the sciences, or the vindication of its authority and inspiration against attacks made on scientific grounds.

Professor Calderwood, who had been appointed lecturer two years previously, chose as his subject "The Relation of Science and Religion."

The lectures were delivered before an audience composed of students and the general public, which completely filled the hall, and which, notwithstanding various outside attractions, was well maintained throughout.

In these lectures he sought to mediate between those, on the one hand, who were inclined to resent the encroachments of science, and, on the other hand, those who believed that scientific advance had rendered the old religious tenets impossible.

It would be too much to say that, by his contribution, he brought to an end the long-standing controversy between scientists and theologians, or convinced all of the soundness of his position; but it may at least be said that his intervention at a critical time afforded much help to many minds on both sides of the problem.

It is worthy of note that, in harmony with the position taken up in his first work, the *Philosophy of*

the Infinite, he makes no attempt throughout these lectures to verify religious truth by an appeal to a faculty distinct from intelligence. From his standpoint, there is no dualism in the human mind. It is the same intelligence that tests and must abide by the results of scientific investigation that has to deal with the great facts of the moral and religious life. What he claims is, that there can be no real antagonism between those two lines of converging truth, as both come from God and must ultimately lead back to Him. On the one hand, he says, "Science must prosecute its own research, unfettered by forecast of consequences"; and on the other hand, "The Bible is not to be handled as if it were a book of science, for it neither lays restraints upon human inquiry nor delivers us from the need of it."

In the opening lecture he showed that the attitude that he meant to assume towards scientific research had nothing in it of the craven fear which at that time dominated not a few theologians.

> All increase of knowledge (he said) is clear gain. Progress is transitive, and in a certain sense unsettling; but it is also accumulative, and thus, in a more enduring sense, consolidating.
>
> All that the telescope can reveal, and the microscope can make known, through years of experimenting, we wish to have discovered; for only thus shall we come to understand the world's lessons of wisdom and power lying far beyond the range of our unaided vision. All the Churches of Christ have reason to hail the extension of scientific knowledge.

The two classes of scientific facts to which he confined himself in this inquiry were: (1) Those which had been brought to light with regard to inorganic nature in recent advances of physical science;

and (2) those connected with the Darwinian theory of evolution of higher from lower organism. As regards the former, he accepts the conclusions of the physicists on the constituent elements of the universe, the indestructibility of matter and conservation of energy; but claims that—

> these discoveries have not lessened the demand of the human intellect to find the explanation of the universe in God, and that both the knowledge and the ignorance of science are in harmony with religious thought. Thus, taking the world as presented to us, it has a constitution which requires for its explanation that we go beyond everything to be found within itself. . . . How matter and energy came into being science cannot tell, but it most explicitly declares that by no power existing and operating within range of observation is it possible either to add to the sum of existence, or in the least degree to diminish it. Religious thought could expect nothing more direct and explicit in the form of scientific testimony as confirmation of its fundamental position.

He next deals with organised existence and in particular with the explanation of its evolution presented in the Darwinian theory. To that theory he gives a somewhat halting approval. He has evidently not yet quite made up his mind to the full acceptance of it, but acknowledges that there are certain conclusions reached by Darwin with regard to evolution of species that must be accepted as proved. The question, however, which he presses home is: Does the Darwinian theory make the necessity of belief in an Infinite Intelligence one whit less clamant? Is no explanation needed of the mysterious power within the living organism by which all these adaptive changes have been brought about? On the contrary, he holds that—

The Darwinian theory is no more at variance with religious thought than with the ordinary notions of preceding times, while to the author whose name is now associated with it all over the scientific world, it is a more striking testimony of the marvels of creative power than notions previously current, which regarded it as historically true that every existing variety of animal was launched into being by a distinct creative act. Whatever may be the ultimate view of the history of life on the earth, based on purely scientific data, and we are still far removed from what may be regarded as scientific evidence for such a view, the fewer the primordial forms to which the multiplicity of existing species can be traced, the greater is the marvel which science presents, and the more convincing becomes the intellectual necessity by which we travel back to a Supernatural Intelligence as the source of all.

In the last lecture but one he dealt with man's place in Nature, and foreshadowed the position that he developed more fully in his later work on evolution. While admitting that on one side of his nature man is in close touch with the lower animals, he holds that his *personality* cannot be explained along that line, and that the attempt to account for his intellectual superiority by mere difference in brain structure, is doomed to failure. More especially the *moral life* of man he regards as quite above physical explanation, and that in that respect alone a great gulf is fixed between man and the highest of the lower creation. Taking advantage of Darwin's admission that there is no evidence that any animal performs an action for the exclusive good of another, he urges that the law of benevolence is, on the contrary, universally applicable amongst mankind, although not universally practised.

If we pass from what a man does to his fellow-men to what he is seen to expect of them, we at once perceive that

the authoritative feature alleged to belong to the principle of benevolence is admitted by him. He resents the selfishness from which he has suffered, complains of the unmanly act which found its pleasure in his injury, and an appeal to public opinion, on any occasion sufficiently important to involve a question of the interests of society, at once calls forth general condemnation of the selfish act as a real injustice.

Thought has ascendency over human life; the bare perception of this grand reality taken with all the distinctions involved in its application to personal conduct, and all the forms of personal control exercised for its fulfilment, lies apart from the discoveries of physiology.

The closing lecture was taken up in the discussion of the relation of the teachings of science to two distinctive and prominent articles of religious conviction, viz., miracles and prayer.

With regard to the former, he holds the miraculous to be an essential part of the Bible record, and necessary to the validity of Christian evidence, but denies that it can be in any way impugned by scientific results. The miracles of Christ, while they cannot be explained by the laws of Nature, are not *violations* of these laws. He dwells upon the respect which Christ had for the uniformity of Nature, and urges that "in all these works of healing nothing more happens as to actual result than does happen when a cure of a critical phase of disease is accomplished by some newly-discovered appliance at command of medical art." Christ worked His miracles only for moral uses, and "subordinated the physical to the moral in determining the use He makes of supernatural agency."

From this point of view science can take no account of the miraculous, for "science is explanation of natural phenomena by recognition of natural causes." "The whole series of our Lord's miracles are therefore outside

the area of science, which, as it has nothing of authority to advance against them, has not even a basis on which to offer any testimony concerning their possibility."

The last subject with which he dealt was prayer. He first draws a distinction between the true and false view of it. If the right view be taken, prayer does not imply a probable reversal of the laws of Nature, but it does imply a moral government in the midst of the physical world, and the subordination of the physical to the moral under regulation of an All-wise and Almighty Ruler.

Prayer is a privilege divinely bestowed through the Saviour, in accordance with which fellowship with God is granted on the merits of the Redeemer. Its nature reveals the true harmony between God and the moral creature, as a reality transcending all physical existence, and all knowledge coming from study of physical law. The accepting of this privilege and the continuance of its exercise are the tokens of returning harmony of sinful man with the holy God.

It does not exclude desire of temporal good, but restricts its illustration to desire of "daily bread," assures us that our Father knoweth we have need of such good and will supply it, and promises that, having given most freely what is best, He will assuredly give that which is least.

If, then, it be said that the answer to prayer is a miracle of divine interposition in human history, of which science finds no trace, we do not marvel, for science does not extend its observations to the inclusion of what pertains to the higher life of man.

It is towards success in attaining true fellowship with Himself that God is ever giving promise of blessing. It is in full view of the transcendent value of a life of holiness that the Supreme Ruler is daily condescending to stoop towards His children, that they may be helped in all that pertains to holiness of character and life. The Bible makes it essential to the government of the world, in harmony with fixed law, that God should be the hearer and answerer of the prayer of

His intelligent creatures, always pointing to reliance on the Saviour's work as the test of the reality of the exercise, in the case of all who possess the written revelation of His will in the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The lectures were well received in America, and sustained the interest of his audience from first to last. A leading New York paper, at the close of the lectures, wrote thus regarding the lecturer :—

> The Directors of the Seminary were wise and fortunate in their choice of Dr. Calderwood. His learning is ample. He has a mind of remarkable penetration and acuteness, with such a judicial calmness and poise that he not only perceives intuitively the relations of truth, but he weighs evidence candidly, and reports the conclusion with fairness and precision. Such a man is trained and armed for the conflict of the present day. He is not afraid of truth. He loves it and delights in teaching it. The hearer feels the honesty of the teacher, and with confidence takes the word. Such a lecturer, handling such living issues as these, is the right man in the right place.

After his return to Edinburgh the lectures were, at the request of some of the most prominent citizens, re-delivered twice in that city, and afterwards published simultaneously in this country and America under the title of *The Relations of Science and Religion.*

Before the close of his sojourn in America he had been looking longingly towards home. Wherever he was, or however much he was enjoying himself, the word home possessed for him a greater attraction than any other. "Homeward bound!" he writes on the 11th October, "that is a grand thing for me after a time of wandering, which has been full of enjoyment, but which I shall gladly bring to a close in prospect of the happiness of home."

The autumn woods were just beginning to assume their golden colour, and left an abiding impression upon his memory.

On 11th October he writes:—

> Some of the trees, such as elms, do not put on the red colour. They fade in yellow with an aspect similar to what we commonly see, but the maples and oaks clothe themselves in glory before they surrender their leaves at the touch of winter. Some trees are perfectly red, from top to bottom—as Mrs. Day remarked while we were driving, it seemed like the burning bush; or, as one of the American poets has said, "Like sunshine in dull weather."
>
> We have splendid weather—the Indian summer, bright from morning to night, week after week. The promise is that of a good passage, with bright moonlight by night, so that I am favoured, and the scene closes in with as happy a home as there is anywhere in all the world. May our God help us to live with Him and for Him, showing our gratitude daily.

The anticipations of a bright and prosperous voyage home were very far from being realised—indeed it seemed at one time doubtful whether he would ever reach land. He sailed from New York in the same steamer which had brought him to America, but when he drove up to the landing-stage he scarcely recognised the ship, she lay so low in the water. So impressed was he with that fact that he had all the items of cargo carefully noted in his diary. No sooner were they out at sea than they began to encounter strong easterly gales. As storm succeeded storm it looked as if the ship would not be able to weather it out. For three days it could do nothing but roll in the trough of the heavy seas. At length the passengers made up their minds that they were going down, when, gathered together in the saloon, they sang some of the hymns

that have been long enshrined in Christian hearts. One of these, "Jesus, Lover of my soul," sung to Sankey's tune, Dr. Calderwood always afterwards associated with that solemn hour.

Speaking later of those dreadful experiences, he said that the one thought that seriously disturbed him in the near presence of death was the knowledge of the long uncertainty and terrible anxiety that loved ones at home would be compelled to pass through.

The climax was reached when a tremendous sea struck the ship, which every one imagined was now about to founder. A gleam of hope returned when the captain's voice was heard overhead, shouting, "She's all right, she's floating yet." From that moment the stress of weather abated, so that they were not again in serious danger, although during the remainder of the voyage the passengers had still a good deal of suffering to endure. The coal supply began to run short, and although the weather was bitterly cold there was no fire in the saloon. With the pitching and heaving of the vessel many were hurled from side to side, receiving serious injuries. At length the captain determined to alter the course of the vessel, and with sails set to "run south with the wind on the beam." Dr. Calderwood often said that he would never forget the sense of relief and hope that he in common with his fellow-passengers experienced when, instead of battling longer against the storm, they turned and made for the south of Ireland.

Meanwhile, as day passed after day, the friends at home were getting terribly anxious. The steamer was long past due, and yet she had never been signalled. The first intimation of its arrival was a telegram from

Dr. Calderwood himself, stating that they had arrived safely at Greenock, after a voyage of fourteen days.

"I feel," he said to a friend afterwards, "that God has given me back my life, and that it must be used more than ever for Him."

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICS—LIBERAL UNIONIST

East and North of Scotland Liberal Unionist Association—President Southern Division of Edinburgh—"The Split" and co-operation with Conservative party—Vice-Chairman East and North Association—Mr. Parnell in Edinburgh—Again asked to contest Southern Division of the city—Impossibility of retiring from University Chair.

IT has been said, and we believe with truth, that when Professor Calderwood stood out on the side of continued union with Ireland many in Scotland followed his lead. He had by this time become a prominent figure in politics, and was known and respected as a man who acted from conviction, who spoke out fearlessly for the right, and had the power of leading men to the high level upon which he himself worked. Be this as it may, a strong Unionist party was formed in Edinburgh from the ranks of those who formerly sided with Mr. Gladstone, and one of the most prominent men amongst the Unionists was Professor Calderwood. He was at once elected a member of the Executive Council of the new body—the East and North of Scotland Liberal Unionist Association.

His first public statement of note was delivered from the chair at a large meeting when Mr. T. W. Russell delivered an address. He pointed out that both moderate and advanced Liberals agreed in considering

the proposals for Home Rule for Ireland a violation of Liberal principles. "It was clearly and steadily on that ground that their opposition had been maintained"; but speaking of the differences which existed, and the folly of continuing the practice of what he termed throwing stones at each other—

he thought they ought to come to discussion of their differences on common ground. There was certainly great diversity, and they must recognise it, for on their (the Unionist) side they were clearly convinced of two things—that for the interest of the British Empire there could be but one Executive, and if they were to stand true to Liberal principles there must be common representation in the English Parliament. These were principles which they must admit, in the hope of affording a basis of discussion for reunion. Perhaps it might be said that the Unionists were not agreed. Well, but they did not hold that the proper policy of the management of a party was that they should all be united in conviction. If only they recognised what the principle meant he thought they might secure unity with a considerable amount of diversity. As to those on the other side, he thought they were agreed that the land laws of Ireland should be dealt with, and that promptly; and also that the Irish people should have a large control of Irish affairs. He thought that that opinion would be acknowledged amongst the Unionists, but there was one great and serious difficulty of reunion, and that was the conduct of the Nationalists. He ventured to say that there was nothing which would more thoroughly consolidate the position against the Nationalists of Ireland than the Plan of Campaign. Let that only be persisted in; let that only be vindicated by Liberals; let that vindication only receive the sanction of the Liberal leaders of the party, and they might be sure of a continued opposition.—*Scotsman*, 24th January 1887.

By June hope of reunion had flagged, and the Edinburgh Liberal Unionists met, Professor Calderwood again being in the chair, for the purpose of organising

their party in the four divisions of the city. On the last day of the month Professor Calderwood accepted the Presidency of the Southern Division, a position which he held for eight years.

Another large meeting of the time, over which Professor Calderwood also presided, was that addressed by Lord Camperdown on 2nd November 1887. At the conclusion of the address, the motion of the evening was proposed from the chair, condemning the tyranny of the National League, and supporting the Government in vindicating the law "and giving security for personal and political freedom." This was distinctly a fighting speech of sustained power. Such cries as "Remember Mitchelstown" were ringing through the country at the time, and Calderwood's brave soul rose in wrath against the sinful and cruel oppression to which the Irish were subjected. At such times his figure became erect, he faced the heart of his audience, and to the heart he appealed. His clear, penetrating voice seemed charged with intensity, yet his direct dignity of manner never lost its reserve of power, its key-note of conviction. Occasionally a loud passage might occur, accompanied with a straight-armed gesture to mark a climax, to be immediately succeeded by a passage of calm reserve and of reflection. In the speech just referred to, after a scornful repudiation of a declared resemblance between the men of the National League and the Covenanters, he continues (*Scotsman* report) :—

If they all remembered Mitchelstown with pain, he would say they remembered Nottingham with a sorer pain. That the man who had led them, that the man who had so often roused them to the acknowledgment of duty and consideration for the suffering, should stand in the midst of them to argue

for the defence of those who were using intimidation, and to discountenance the action of the police and the guardians of order, was to them the most painful recollection of all. They did not profess to be clear of the feelings raised by party conflict, but they wished to keep such feelings down, and to acknowledge that on the Gladstonian side there was strength of conviction and goodness of purpose. For what they were aiming at was the true sympathetic union between the two countries. On the other hand they (the Unionists) asked as much in return. They believed that the best interests of the nation were at this moment in peril, and that the rights of citizens were being recklessly sacrificed. They longed for an honest free trade, which should allow every citizen to buy and sell where he pleased. They loathed with intense hate the murderer's wicked purpose. They desired that Irishmen should be free with that freedom which had been Britain's boast. It became Unionists to take up the conflict which had been forced upon them, and to take it up resolutely, summoned to it by a tyrannical conspiracy which otherwise must prevail.

On the subject of Home Rule his position may be sufficiently indicated by giving one or two short quotations from an address he delivered on this head on 16th February of the year following (1888): "To decide for the three millions (of Irish people) against the earnest entreaty of the two millions would require very strong reasons, stronger than national sentiment and the earnest desire of the majority." He is clearly referring here to the majority of the Irish people, not, be it remarked, as if in violation of a passage already quoted, of the majority of the electorate of the British Islands. After referring to the plea of justice to Ireland, he says: "All recent legislation bearing upon the interests of Ireland—and it had been abundant—had aimed at securing for the Irish people the largest possible share of privileges granted to the nation generally; and very specially in respect of the land

laws, more had been done for Ireland than for other portions of the kingdom to secure relief from the pressure of serious difficulties falling upon the agricultural interests over the entire kingdom. There seemed, therefore, no special plea for Home Rule in Ireland on the ground of any special neglect. . . . But they had to ask, what in this case had made Home Rule a pressing question in Ireland? The result had been brought about by the deliberately-adopted tactics, first of the Land League, and next of the National League, including intimidation of their fellow-countrymen and persecution of all who refused to agree with them. Under these Leagues a deliberate conflict with the country had been undertaken, and whatever there had been of so-called coercive legislation had been the direct result of these tactics. The proposal of a separate Parliament for Ireland, as accepted and formulated in Mr. Gladstone's Bill, was a surrender to the Parnellites. It could not be regarded as an expression of the thought and experience of a great statesman, but the draft of a measure which it was known Mr. Parnell and his followers were ready to accept." This and one or two other similar passages seem to show that to a certain extent he considered Mr. Parnell and his followers responsible for "the split," as having, as it were, forced Mr. Gladstone's hand against the real interests of the majority. He still stoutly supports the interests of the majority and the abolition of class distinctions in dealing with questions of national importance. Presiding at a meeting arranged for Mr. Austen Chamberlain on 9th October 1888, he quotes Forster on the principles of Liberalism: "Equality before the law, progress, abolition of class restrictions, freedom of the press — ay, and a determination that

neither king, nor peer, nor mob shall take away the liberty of any Englishman or Irishman." He maintains that the insinuations that Liberal Unionists were forsaking their principles were entirely groundless, that Unionists still held to the principles quoted, but "did not mean to have any hesitation in co-operating to the utmost with the Tories to prevent the possibility of a breach in their constitution." The expression of an opinion such as this was unintelligible to many of his old comrades. Later, when advocating the cause of Threefold Option, his position was considered extraordinary, and even monstrous, for precisely the same reason. He was not a man who, when dealing with matters of principle, counted the cost of his actions. At such times he relied entirely on his conscientious conviction leading him in the true direction; and having conscientiously adopted a particular course, he did not shut his eyes to the full responsibility of it, or shrink from conditions which might suddenly arise in consequence of his action. Unionism meant co-operation with the Tories (as they were still called) for the future happiness of the Empire; and he unhesitatingly not only accepted the co-operation, but showed his sincerity of purpose and breadth of mind by stepping forward to assist the co-operation. And sometimes it appeared as if his very boldness prompted him to emphasise the unusual part he found himself taking, so that many were tempted to believe he had espoused the particular cause of those with whom he was only loyally co-operating. Thus, in the present instance, lest people should suppose that co-operation with the Conservative party was only half-hearted, and also, perhaps, lest some of the Unionists should themselves be waverers, he made it clear, in a public place, that

the co-operation once agreed upon was to be a "co-operation to the utmost" to prevent the calamity which, in their opinions, otherwise threatened the country.

A point which cannot but be noticed when reviewing the part which Professor Calderwood took in Edinburgh and in Scottish politics, is that he seems seldom to have attended meetings at which he was not required for some special purpose. He was known as a ready speaker, he could argue a point with great clearness and subtlety, conduct a meeting with wonderful tact, and on occasion make a strong fighting speech; but he had a great many other important subjects to deal with besides politics, and if it appeared that he was not specially required, he was content, usually, to read the speeches in next morning's paper rather than sacrifice an evening. So it happens that in reports of meetings addressed by ministers of Cabinet rank, or by prominent members of the aristocracy, his name is not to be found in the list of those who crowd the platform. In November 1889 he was elected, with the late Sir John Don Wauchope, a Vice-Chairman of the East and North of Scotland Liberal Unionist Association, and was naturally expected to be present at all important meetings, but in the earlier days he attended, as a rule, only when he was required to speak. We have known him, also, arrange that another should speak in his stead when that other would be benefited thereby, without injury to the particular point to be dealt with.

In the spring of 1889 the citizens of Edinburgh were once more plunged into a period of much excitement by a proposal, on the part of the Town Council, to confer the freedom of the city on Mr. Parnell. The Special Commission appointed to inquire into the

actions of Mr. Parnell, and certain of his allies, with reference to the development of the Irish Question along certain unconstitutional lines, was still sitting, and for this reason as well as for other most obvious political reasons the proposal of the Town Council was vehemently objected to. Three large indignation meetings were held, but in spite of these the Council went on with their arrangements. A representative body of Edinburgh men, including Professor Calderwood amongst their number, then arranged to take a plebiscite of the citizens to show the number of those who were in favour of the proposal. Action on this Committee seems, however, to have been his only public one in connection with this highly personal and therefore to him very objectionable business. Many may have refrained from recording their opinions, as they were advised to do by the friends of the Town Council, but 17,800 voted against the proposal, and only 3100 in favour of it. In spite of this, however, with as important display as might have been given to Mr. Gladstone himself, the Council of the city, priding itself on its Liberalism, disregarded the wish of the majority and conferred the honour upon Mr. Parnell. The Report of the Commission was issued in February of next year, and Mr. Parnell reached the zenith of his fame. The sittings of the Commission, like the more recent trials of the unfortunate Dreyfus, had produced many exposures, which were as unfortunate for the rectitude of certain leaders of the nation as they were instructive to the spectators. But in two months public opinion was already regarding Parnell by means of a new light.

Before this, Professor Calderwood delivered an important address on the Irish Question, in which he again lays much of the blame of "the split" upon Mr.

Parnell. "The thing which startled Mr. Gladstone," he says, "was the return of 86 Parnellites out of 103 Irish members. He drafted his Home Rule Bill to meet the requirements of Mr. Parnell, and he thought they might say that the Bill would not have taken the form it did if Mr. Gladstone had been left to himself, and did not feel that he was committed to the Parnellite party, and bound to bring in a Bill to meet their wishes. . . . They certainly all rejoiced that Mr. Parnell and those associated with him had been cleared from the charge of being personally implicated in crime, and he thought they had good reason to express sympathy with Mr. Parnell for what he had endured, but at the same time he thought he had himself to blame for the whole consequences—(a voice, 'the Pigott letters'). Of course, he did not bring the letters on himself; but a man who joined hands with a party that violated the law, and that went in for deception by night and day, would suffer from that deception." We have seen that before "the split" he made an important speech urging the unity of Mr. Gladstone's followers by their maintenance of two leading points—their devotion to Liberal principles, and their agreeing that the will of the majority should decide the leading actions of the party. Now, in his address on Home Rule we find him again singling out two points as the two special duties of Unionists—first, to decline all alliance with those who favoured intimidation and violence; and second, to promote the redress of Irish wrongs by the action of a British, not an Irish Parliament. "The exclusion of Irish members from the British Parliament and the inclusion of a non-elective body in the Irish Parliament were two direct violations of Liberal principles," added to which was the firm

belief that the proposed measure did not make for the benefit either of Ireland or of the Empire, and was not supported by the majority of the people for this very reason.

Mr. (now Sir Lewis) M'Iver was adopted as the Unionist candidate for the Southern Division of Edinburgh on the 2nd of May 1890. From the first this candidature was strongly supported by the chairman, Professor Calderwood. In his introductory speech he strongly advocates a consolidation of the Union, if even at the cost of much that was formerly held dear.

The Annual Meeting of the East and North of Scotland Liberal Unionist Association received special interest in 1890 from the presence of the Marquis of Hartington (now the Duke of Devonshire) who, in the evening of the same day, was to address a large meeting in the Corn Exchange. At the annual meeting Professor Calderwood had a resolution to propose condemning Parliamentary obstruction as then practised, and advocating the passing of a Land Purchase Act for Ireland, and a Private Bill Inquiry Act for Scotland. Lord Hartington had already made a long speech, and had been followed by Sir Donald Currie and Mr. M'Leod Fullerton, then candidate for the Eastern Division, with a resolution of confidence; nevertheless the speech of Professor Calderwood, bringing forward as it did matters of practical importance for the Parliamentary programme of the future, gave considerable scope for the exercise of that convincing and clear speaking for which the mover of the resolution was noted, and it was received with the marked approbation it deserved.

No one had more tolerance for, or greater respect towards, those who brought forward arguments at variance with his own than Professor Calderwood. His

practice at the University was ever to strive to give equal credit to the properly argued position of a student who, in philosophy, took up a standpoint opposite to that of the Professor. So, in politics, obstruction of a legitimate kind was regarded by him as the ordinary and the fair method of any opposition; but obstruction such as he referred to in this speech, obstruction meant to irritate and hinder, "unreasoning and unreasonable opposition deliberately carried through," because those who held contrary views were likely to gain an advantage, or still more, opposition for reasons of party spite causing men to obstruct measures they really believed in—this he described as "a moral wrong to the country." In dealing with the proposed Bills he apparently presupposed that his hearers understood the principles involved; and, in view of the manner in which they have more recently been brought forward, it is unnecessary for us here to describe them.

As time went on, and the position of the Unionists became better understood, the prospects of the party became brighter in South Edinburgh. Much was done by Mr. M'Iver and his immediate supporters to perfect the organisation and to canvass the constituency. Since 1885, when Mr. Thomas Raleigh stood for the Southern Division against Sir George Harrison, Professor Calderwood's knowledge of the constituency had been intimate, and we believe we are correct in saying that his knowledge was now used to great purpose in beating up the division on the side of the Union and of Mr. M'Iver. It is needless to dwell specially upon this work, made up as it is of a long succession of small services. Suffice it to say that even at times when he was extremely busy with his University duties he was able to carry through, with great swiftness, a most

surprising amount of detailed political work. His faculty of quickly grasping the essentials of a subject, of divining a person's real object, and of choosing rapidly between alternatives presented, stood him in good stead, and with the able support he received from his political colleagues enabled the necessary work to be accomplished. But it must be admitted that about this time the number of duties of diverse kinds he had to perform each day, coupled with the interruptions he had to expect during the short morning hours of his home work, made it quite impossible for him to keep abreast of his correspondence. He did not take readily to the usual methods of overcoming this difficulty, partly, perhaps, because much of his correspondence was of a semi-private kind. So it happened that urgent matters were attended to, while not a few letters had to answer themselves in course of time, or be replied to verbally as chance offered. Letter-writing became a kind of slavery which held him under its chain during a much-grudged period each day, the work of which, however, he wished to do conscientiously. No one will be surprised, therefore, that, pushed as he was, allowing himself only a short six hours' sleep, his letters, though very numerous, are short and to the point, and to a very small degree suitable for publication.

When, in February 1893, Mr. Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill came on, and the whole country was again agitated as to the result, Professor Calderwood appears to have taken no very prominent part in the Edinburgh speech-making. On 3rd March we find him presiding at the meeting of Unionists called to discuss the measure ; but neither at this meeting nor at the larger one presided over by the Marquis of Tweeddale on 18th March did he deliver a speech.

The objection of the Edinburgh men was, however, the objection of almost all Unionists. The Bill was still a Separatist proposal, although one of the outstanding difficulties of the first Bill had been largely obviated. The widely-opened breach was, therefore, accentuated rather than reduced, and the relative position of parties remained as before.

In 1895, owing to the succession of Lord Wolmer to the earldom of Selborne and the necessity of his continuing Parliamentary life in the House of Lords, the Western Division of Edinburgh was deprived of its member. In May, Mr. (now Sir Lewis) M'Iver was proposed as candidate. The transference of Mr. M'Iver from the Southern to the Western Division was naturally regarded by the former constituency as a great disappointment. To the President, who had to move the resolution agreeing to the proposals of the Unionist leaders should Mr. M'Iver desire to go, the severance was almost a personal loss.

To his surprise a proposal was made that he, Professor Calderwood, should contest the division in place of Mr. M'Iver. He was inclined at first to treat the matter as a joke, just as a near relative of his own, when asked at a later date if he would contest Midlothian in the footsteps of Mr. Gladstone, characteristically replied that he had not yet quite lost his senses. In the following month, however, it became evident that the constituency was in earnest. When the question came to be seriously regarded, apart from all considerations of personal modesty, it had to be admitted that, situated as the division then was, a candidate who was well known in the district and who for many reasons would have a really good chance of success would be difficult to find, and that no one,

probably, would more readily than Professor Calderwood gain the seat for the Unionist cause. When the proposal became known among his friends he was deluged with letters. Political friends urged him to agree, men of Cabinet rank said they would welcome him in the House; non-political friends urged him by the strongest arguments they could command to keep out of a life which would of necessity be new, would certainly be a strain, and which would mean the cessation of much useful work in Scotland. All were agreed he was eminently fitted for carrying out the duties of a member, and that he would certainly form a distinguished and a thoroughly reliable member.

He was now sixty-five years of age, and had filled his professorial chair for twenty-seven years. A short consideration satisfied him that to do justice to the work he was now asked to contemplate would necessitate his withdrawing from University life in Edinburgh. This would undoubtedly have made a great change in itself, yet, very largely, we are inclined to believe, because he had a strong natural liking for politics and the stimulating strife which a political life involves, and also, without a doubt, because it was necessary, at short notice, for some one to fill the breach so unexpectedly opened in the division, he accepted the invitation. On negotiating with the University as to the terms of his retirement, after having served the length of time necessary, as he believed, to make him eligible for a tolerable pension, an unexpected difficulty arose. The regulations of the University, of all Scottish universities, had undergone a change since the time of his appointment. In terms of these regulations he had long been working, and in terms of them he might have been expected to retire. He

found, however, that, as one of the old Professors who had been appointed prior to 1882, and therefore under the old ordinances, there were grave doubts whether or not it was in his power to retire. Under these circumstances he found it necessary in meeting the Committee of the Southern Division to accept provisionally. No precedent existed for a retirement in the circumstances now brought forward, and he asked two or three days in which to obtain the best possible opinion.

While the possibility of his standing for the division was still under consideration, however, he went on with the work of presenting his views on the various matters of special interest at the time. These, for the purposes of this biography, are of importance, as defining, more clearly than has yet been done, his opinions on subjects which are still of special political interest. The question of Disestablishment, for instance, which as a "voluntary" he had long studied, had of late years been receiving special attention from a wider view-point. He had now come to treat this question as he treated so many others,—by a process of emphasising likenesses rather than differences. The unsatisfactory relationship existing between the three main Presbyterian Churches of Scotland had led him to define more clearly the real value of those differences, and, sentiment apart, to attempt by careful study to arrange the points of discord as one might the pieces of a puzzle. In this process of analysis and synthesis he became more conversant than formerly with many of the links binding Church and State, and of the problems involved in any attempt to break these ancient connections.

The history of the Disestablishment movement, with all its many-sided ramifications and altercations, was familiar to him. As has been seen in the chapter

dealing with his position in the United Presbyterian Synod, he had taken part in many debates on the subject. The position which he ultimately chose was therefore one to which he was brought after a careful consideration of the whole question, and more especially by a very practical consideration of the lines along which it seemed to him the best possible results for Scotland and Scottish Presbyterianism might be attained. He was the last man to retract any principle to which he had conscientiously given allegiance, but in the broad interests of the Church in Scotland his study of this question brought him to the belief that the solution of the matter lay not in continual and unbecoming warfare for the supremacy of one or other Church, but in the union of the three Presbyterian Churches on a basis which might be mutually agreed upon. Special reference is made elsewhere to the part he upheld in the conferences between leading members of the Churches, convened for the purpose of considering the subject. In the present connection he made it clear to the Committee seeking him as their candidate that his attitude towards the question of Disestablishment was in opposition to all efforts which were directed against the Established Church as mere injury to that Church, and that his hope of solving the real question at issue was by the union and reorganisation of the three Churches. He was, in fact, of opinion that aggressive political action for Disestablishment and the secularisation of the endowments of the Established Church would seriously hinder the end desired. As to the mode in which national recognition of religion might be secured apart from Establishment, he considered that, in view of the existing conditions, the recognition of the State in future legislative action might be

based on a recognition of the spiritual independence of all branches of the Christian Church in the land. He considered also that the teinds were the property of the nation, and were held by the Legislature for religious uses; and he did not think it an allowable thing that the Legislature should forget the rights of property which the Established Church had in those endowments, or that they had been consecrated to religious uses. He considered, further, that in the event of reunion of the Presbyterians of Scotland, the Legislature, on memorial from the Established Church, and concurrence of the sister Presbyterian Churches, might well recognise the reconstituted Church as *de facto* "the national Church"; thereby acknowledging the Scottish nation as Protestant in faith, and Presbyterian in Church government. He further pointed out that such a Church would stand in historic continuity with the Church of the Reformation as provided for in the Treaty of Union between Scotland and England.

Another question of much importance, and in which he had ever taken a prominent interest, was that of Temperance Reform. He was then a total abstainer, in the most literal sense of that term, of forty-eight years' standing. Because, however, he had repeatedly refused to identify himself with the extreme Temperance party, owing perhaps to his disinclination to force the opinions of others; and also because he had been one of the leaders of the Temperance Reform scheme known as Threefold Option, a scheme based on the principle of placing an option before the Electorate, many had apparently come to regard him as a doubtful sort of Temperance reformer. A memorandum which he drew up for the benefit of the electioneering committee at this time runs as follows:—

As to legislation affecting the number and distribution of licences, I approve of local control. But I am opposed to legislation which would sanction reduction save by majorities clearly indicating a preponderating and settled public opinion. I think that effect should be given to the will of the people as to the granting of new licences. When limitation of existing licences is provided for, I think this should be done by limitation of transfers, by careful regard for those who have conducted business to the satisfaction of the licencing authorities, and when a licence is withdrawn in the public interest from a licence-holder against whom no breach of licence has been established, compensation should be given.

I do not consider prohibition as within the range of practical politics; and I am anxious to see the trade co-operate in seeking admitted reforms.

Apart from questions of crime and wrong-doing, he was opposed to compulsion in questions where much diversity of opinion was evident.

While these expressions of political belief were being prepared and delivered to the Committee of the South Edinburgh Unionists, the question of the retirement from the Chair of Moral Philosophy was being considered by his colleagues of the University Court. A considerable amount of correspondence ensued, and all writers seem to have been equally anxious that the way should be cleared for his probable entry into Parliament. The fact, however, that he held his commission under the old ordinances was considered, by a consensus of the highest legal opinions, to be a complete barrier to his resignation being considered under the newer conditions then in vogue. He could only withdraw from his Chair under the plea of "old age or infirmity," and as a man proposing to commence a Parliamentary career could hardly be considered as either too old or too infirm to conduct University duties,

no other course seemed open but to withdraw from the candidature of the seat. Had the power existed of transferring his commission from the operation of the old to that of the new ordinances, he would in all probability have had to sacrifice his well-earned pension; but the unexpected finding that retirement from his Chair was really not in his power made the further contemplation of plans quite unnecessary.

His letter of withdrawal ran as follows:—

To the Unionist Association of South Edinburgh.

Gentlemen—On receiving your invitation to become candidate for the Division, I at once claimed the right to retire from the Chair I hold in the University. The highest legal authorities have decided against my claim, and I am in the position that if I were elected for South Edinburgh it would be impossible for me to serve. I am, therefore, reluctantly compelled to decline your request. None of my fellow-citizens can regret this more than I do.

To you who have honoured me with the request to become candidate I desire to convey my warmest thanks.—Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

H. Calderwood.

Ard-na-coille, Carr Bridge,
Inverness-shire, 17*th June* 1895.

His private feelings on the matter are, we think, of much interest, and may be gathered from a letter to his daughter, Mrs. Woodside, from which we are permitted to quote. It is dated "Carr Bridge, 22nd June 1895," and runs as follows:—

The decision of the legal authorities that the older Professors cannot have the advantages of the new ordinance, which makes sixty-five years of age the measure when a Professor can voluntarily retire (or thirty years of teaching), will be a surprise to my colleagues, as it has been to me.

I have the additional annoyance of feeling that I have unwittingly encouraged a hope among the Unionists of South Edinburgh which I find cannot be realised. I am sorry for this. The very general and strong desire that I should represent the Division in Parliament has taken me by surprise, supplying an evidence of confidence in me which I appreciate greatly. It will supply encouragement in seeking to render public service as opportunity offers.

I must say there is for me a great sense of relief in having the question decided for me in such a conclusive way. I had prayed that the path of duty should be plain; and it has been made so.

I return thankfully to my lifelong work, having my mind full of plans and purposes which I hope may be more fully realised than I have yet been able to secure.

In the field of disappointments, the one which most comes up to me with regret, is the loss of the opportunity of discussing the great questions of the day in the assembly of the people when the minds of all are at a white heat. Most I regret here the loss of the opening for discussing the union of the Churches, but for that question the time may come for me.

It was thoroughly characteristic of Professor Calderwood that although unable himself to be the chief figure in the contest which followed, he nevertheless did all in his power to further the interests of the one who took his place. Mr. Robert Cox was selected as the candidate—now, alas! also passed away—and after a spirited contest was returned as member. Professor Calderwood was not the man to hold aloof, while another reaped the reward he had at one time regarded as perhaps to be his own. He journeyed from Inverness-shire to Edinburgh to preside at the most riotous meetings of the canvas, and to stand by Mr. Cox in the defence of Unionist principles. No one was more sincere in congratulating Mr. Cox as the victorious candidate.

Another most interesting letter is written to Mrs. Woodside when the victory of the Unionist party was secured at the General Election :—

CARR BRIDGE, *25th July* 1895.

. . . The results of the elections give reason for profound gratitude,—the results of the results will be far-reaching. It is not merely that the baneful scheme of Home Rule is overthrown, and free space left us for progressive legislation; but the revolutionary projects are checked in the best possible way,—by the voice of the people,—and we are rescued, for a time at least, from the belief that reform can be secured by force. . . .

These are the sincere thoughts of a sincere Unionist.

On still another occasion he showed his willingness to sacrifice himself in order to render his party a service. In June 1896, when the contest for the Northern Burghs was in progress, the candidate, Mr. (now Sheriff) William C. Smith, was compelled to leave two important engagements unfulfilled on account of family bereavement. The more important of these was the addressing of electors in Kirkwall, Orkney. Many of the leading voters were United Presbyterians, who were strong on the Temperance question. Professor Calderwood, who was then at his summer home in Carr Bridge, agreed at once to go north to help. The trains of the candidate and his sponsor crossed one another at Dingwall, where a rapid conversation was interchanged for a few minutes. In Kirkwall Professor Calderwood went to work at once, and succeeded in beating up the electors and carrying through a successful meeting. Almost immediately afterwards he had to leave for the south again, the day being Saturday; but by travelling direct to Inverness and then driving through the night the twenty-five

miles farther to Carr Bridge, he was able to fulfil his usual Sunday evening engagement in the Free Church there. It was already light when the sound of the trap was heard as it came down the long hill from Sloch to Carr Bridge, and the writer remembers well his surprise when, on walking down to the hotel to meet the trap, it was found to contain only the driver. Professor Calderwood had got down and had walked home by a foot-bridge across the river. But tired as he must have been, he at once set out again to walk to the hotel on finding that he was being waited for there. Such quiet courtesy, and the cheerfulness at the end of such a journey, were things to be remembered. Few would have taken this quite unnecessary trouble.

Very little now remains to be mentioned in his political life. The cause of Threefold Option was the chief object for which he personally continued to make an active struggle. The impregnable majority of the coalition Government brought, naturally, a reign of peace to those responsible for the conduct of local political affairs. The scheme of Threefold Option, and the alliance which had sprung into existence for the purpose of furthering it, was still practically in its infancy. The principle of the Bill for Temperance Reform which began to take shape was perhaps somewhat unusual; it was at all events much misunderstood by some who were zealous in the advocacy of other schemes. A proposal to meet with all the members of Parliament representing Scottish constituencies was made. Professor Calderwood had, during a short visit to London, seen many Scottish members at the House of Commons, and had found that there was a distinct willingness to seize an opportunity of understanding more clearly the nature of the

conscientious politician could be more frequently met with, people would not regard him as remarkable. In the same way it was significant in the case of Professor Calderwood, that some of those who had experience of Parliamentary life hoped he would not enter it because of the instinctive feeling that his high sensibilities would be rudely buffeted by the usages of the House. It is perfectly certain that under all circumstances he would have acted as much as possible by the guidance of his own single-eyed judgment. But it was ever noticeable, also, that in an uncongenial atmosphere he never gave the impression that he was aware of the unworthy aspirations or downward tendencies of some whose standards were less high than his own. Yet his mind was not of that order which made it impossible for him to appreciate what others might think. On the contrary, his breadth of mind, coupled with his marked ability as a man of affairs, made him unusually quick to presage the attitude of others. Hence in all spheres where bias or prejudice is expected to govern a man's conduct to a greater or less extent, he seemed the more prominent; for, viewing and understanding the position of others, he was strong enough to maintain a level which made any suggestion of temporising or self-seeking impossible. We have seen that he thoroughly enjoyed the excitement of political combat; without such natural liking he might never have interested himself in such matters, and yet have been a prominent citizen of Edinburgh. But just as he became a man of mark in other spheres of interest, so here his position seemed to be gained through no special effort or ambition of his own to win a high place, but simply by his being naturally selected to fill a high position. Nor do we believe that his capacity for

valuable political service was fully measured by the work he did or the positions he filled. He was valued by his political friends not only for his force of character—a quality essential to the being either of a great man or of a great nation—but for his unfailing tact in the management of men of widely different opinions, and for the reliable quality of his speeches. His sphere of operations was limited, we may say, to the East and North of Scotland, but the range of his view took in the Empire. There was nothing parochial about him. Questions of foreign politics did not come naturally in his way, and only on one or two occasions did he speak on Colonial relationship and Imperial Federation; but all questions of national interest were treated with calm judgment and sincerity. Moreover, his conscientious service would at any time have prompted him to act as he said in a speech on the Home Rule separation, "even at the cost of much that was held dear." His breadth of view also made it impossible for him to act in any way as an extremist. He was too keenly sensible of the wisdom there might be in the views of others to aggressively champion an extreme course. His positions as to Temperance Reform and Disestablishment, referred to elsewhere, are sufficient, perhaps, to show this. We desire, in fine, to indicate that this many-sidedness, this position and training in which so many diverse influences acted upon his mind, created the capacity of the statesman as above that merely of the politician.

CHAPTER XIV

LATER POSITIONS

Disestablishment—Early and later position—Church Union—Conferences of representative men—Temperance Reform—Threefold Option.

BETWEEN the years 1880 and 1886 Professor Calderwood was in the full tide of Synodical work and influence. No man was more prominent in guiding the Synod in the general current of its business, and notwithstanding the clamant demands of the University and of philosophical study, few, if any, gave so much of their time as he to the general work of the Church. During those years he touched its life at almost every point.

For several years he was Convener of the Church Extension Committee of Edinburgh Presbytery, when a period of great vigour and activity ensued. The aspect of the work which appealed to him was the necessity laid upon the Church of keeping hold of the large populations crowding into new and rising suburbs by providing Gospel services within easy reach. During his convenership the Committee did not confine themselves to erecting churches only in well-to-do suburbs, but were equally mindful of those inhabited by the working-classes. The congregations of Dalmeny Street, Leith; North Merchiston,[1] and Broxburn were

[1] Now Ker Memorial.

examples of this highest aspect of Church Extension work. When, in 1884, he resigned his convenership through pressure of other work, he had the satisfaction of seeing several churches, begun under his care, already far advanced towards success. The funds which he had found in a backward condition were once more placed upon a satisfactory footing, and he had assisted in demonstrating that the Church by the free-will offerings of its people was not only able to maintain its position, but also to share in the work of meeting rapid changes of population. On his resignation, the Presbytery put upon record "that by his efforts the Church had been materially enlarged and strengthened, and they expressed their sense of the deep and lasting gratitude under which he had placed the Church by his services."

In 1882 he was sent by the Home Mission Board along with another delegate to visit Galloway Presbytery, and in that connection was brought face to face with many of the congregations in the south-western district of Scotland. The United Presbyterian Church in that, as in many other rural districts, was feeling the pressure of decreasing population, and had for some time been maintaining a struggle against an ebbing tide.

His letters show how much he was impressed by the vigorous and effective work carried on by ministers and office-bearers in quiet country districts, and how entirely his sympathy went out to them in their peculiar difficulties. His words of wise counsel and inspiring encouragement in several instances left their mark in organisation for the furtherance of the missionary cause. He had been sent to ascertain the difficulties under which these congregations laboured; and the manner in which he fulfilled his commission

was to lead them into new activities and fresh interests, amid which the Zenana mission held a chief place.

Throughout his visit, places of historic interest, and especially those identified with Scotland's struggle for religious liberty, had for him a special charm. At Wigtown he went to see "the resting-place of the martyrs, who suffered for determined adherence to the reformed faith and covenant; also the part of Wigtown Bay where the two women were tied to the stake within the high-water mark, and the monument erected to them and the three men who were hanged by Claverhouse and his crew—the bonny, bloody Dundee."

For twelve years he was a member of the Foreign Mission Board, and of this long and valued service its Secretary thus writes:—

> He made himself quickly acquainted with the details of the business, grasped very readily the principles involved, and set forth his views with all his wonted clearness and point. The contribution which he thus gave to the foreign mission cause was a very valuable one.

In many ways his intense interest in foreign missions was revealed. When called upon to address congregational audiences, it was the subject which he most frequently selected for his speech. At every Synod meeting all the missionaries at home on furlough, together with their wives, were invited to Craigrowan; and Dr. and Mrs. Calderwood were never happier than when going about amongst them, listening to their accounts of the progress of the work. When the missionaries were away in foreign lands, their children at school in Edinburgh were made to feel that Dr. Calderwood's house was a kind of second home.

But the finest contribution to the foreign mission

cause that he ever made was his speech in the Synod of 1887. For some years previously the contributions of the Church to its mission fund had been going rapidly behind, until in that year the Synod was face to face with the enormous deficit of £20,000. Whispers were heard on every hand that the Church must draw back from some of its labours, but, in a speech which had an electrical effect, delivered on the Wednesday evening, Dr. Calderwood recalled the Church to its highest efforts. "A crisis," he said, "is a call to work. A crisis does not mean danger or weakness or fear. It means faith,—and out of that faith, work—work for God, which will bring us at last to great results. What has occasioned this crisis? We, the smallest Presbyterian Church in Scotland, what have we dared to do? To go to the front, and carry forward the largest amount of work done by any Presbyterian Church. If we have dared it, and done it, we shall not retreat from our responsibility. Shall we stand behind, and cry 'No! No! No!' It is not in the heart of the United Presbyterian Church to call our agents back, to say 'No!'"

Before the close of the Synod £3000 was subscribed; and a year later the Foreign Mission Secretary was enabled to announce that the whole £20,000 had been raised.

Writing afterwards upon the subject, Dr. Calderwood takes note of one contribution: "Very interesting for its promptitude and its largeness was the offering at the close of the meeting—'a working mason, £1.' This is a fine example of the depth of genuine interest among the members of the Church in the world's deliverance from sin."

Between 1880 and 1886 he guided the Synod

through several new departures in legislation. Notable amongst these was the change in representation of elders to the Supreme Court, whereby a session that could not send a representative of its own was allowed to choose from the Church at large. As Convener of the Synod's special Committee, he was largely responsible for piloting the scheme through the Synod. The result was the return year after year to the Synod of a large body of well-known elders, whose presence in the Court added to its strength, and who, on their part, received a quickened interest in all the affairs of the Church.

But the most laborious piece of work which Dr. Calderwood undertook for the Church during this period was the editorship of the *United Presbyterian Magazine.* This Magazine, although it had no direct sanction from the Synod, was still a recognised organ of the Church. Dating back through its progenitors to the beginning of the century, it had lived to spread the distinctive principles of the denomination and to afford to its households interesting and wholesome reading. After a not inglorious history of nearly forty years under its present name, it announced its approaching demise at the close of 1883.

When no one was willing to undertake the task of resuscitating it, Professor Calderwood, under the belief that it filled a place in denominational life of great importance, got together a strong Editorial Committee, and, having put £200 of his own money into it, resolved to give the periodical a fresh chance. The principle upon which he went was to remunerate his contributors, but to take no reward for his own work. Every month he had at least one article in it, sometimes two; wrote the greater part of the "monthly retrospect," and, in addition, did the most of the editing.

For six years it was a constant labour; and, as he himself sometimes remarked, "The month comes round with astonishing regularity."

It was interesting to note how constantly he was on the outlook for an article from some minister working, perhaps, quietly in the country, whose ability was known only to the few, but who simply needed opportunity to show what was in him. Even in sending out books for review, he thought much of how he could spread the interest and thus make the Magazine a power in quickening the intellectual and spiritual life of the ministers of the Church. When, in 1889, he laid aside the editorship, the circulation had greatly increased, and he was able to pay all his contributors very fair remuneration. The only man that remained absolutely unpaid was the editor, whose work from first to last was a labour of love. Fortunately, he was able to recoup himself for the £200 that he had advanced, but otherwise his only satisfaction consisted in the knowledge that he had preserved from extinction a denominational periodical, which he believed capable of much stimulus to all concerned, and which, in the past, had been conducted by some of the ablest men in the Church.

Reviewing his ecclesiastical position between 1880 and 1886, we should say that he, more than any one, was the leader of the Synod in its regular business, and that he performed an amount of work for the Church which was not excelled even by those whose whole time was at the disposal of the Church. In addition to the work already mentioned, he, on various occasions, came to the help of the theological faculty and conducted the classes of Practical Training, Apologetics, and Church History in the Divinity Hall. As

an illustration of the position that he held in those years, it may be mentioned that he was asked to lay the foundation-stone of three churches, Lossiemouth, Morningside (Edinburgh), and Lerwick,—to which falls to be added in later years that of Wardie (Edinburgh).

The year 1886—the date of the great Unionist split — brought about a considerable change in his Synodical position and in his general influence in the United Presbyterian Church. The Synod knows no politics, but the fact that the great majority of its members remained with the Gladstonian party at the time of the split, produced its natural effect.

Not the least of the trials involved in his Unionist position was separation in many departments of public activity from the men with whom he had previously been a co-worker. His attitude towards, if not his opinions regarding, Disestablishment underwent considerable change. Previous to 1886 he had been a very consistent and thorough-going advocate of Disestablishment. He was a director of the Scottish Liberation Society, when in 1886 it united with the Disestablishment Association, under the name of the Disestablishment Council for Scotland. Of this latter Society he was never either member or director, but subscribed to its funds until within two years of his death.

In early life he had described himself as a keen "voluntary," thus indicating that he held strongly the conviction that the Church of Christ should maintain itself by the free-will offerings of her own people, and that the State did a wrong to its citizens when it assisted the Church by compulsory taxation.

In 1874 he wrote to Dr. Cairns, then in Berwick, in a strain which showed his deep interest in the Disestablishment movement :—

3rd October 1874.

I had a visit as to a Course of Voluntary Church Lectures in Glasgow this winter. The deputies told me they were going on to Berwick, and now I learn that they had not found you at home. They are anxious on the point, feeling that success may greatly influence the state of conviction in the Free Church. I stated to Mr. P. and Mr. S. that I believe much good could be done, only I felt persuaded that we should not conduct agitation in a way to exasperate Established Churchmen. I therefore thought the discussion should now be conducted in a form which would press upon all the immense gain to the Churches of being freed from the restraints of State-relationship, and that we should magnanimously keep in the background the injustice done to us. Disestablishment draws on, and it is well to keep our ground clear for union afterwards. I believe that you could at this juncture do much to direct the movement, if you can give the lead off. I would gladly join you, but my position ties me up, and I deem it wiser to render my help to the cause in quieter ways. Our Free Church friends now become alive to the need for action, and I think we may see the lines opening for a wider union than at first projected.

In 1885 Disestablishment had become a burning question in Scotland, and many, including Dr. Calderwood, believed that it was soon to be consummated. The introduction of Mr. Dick Peddie's Bill, which, in its disendowment clauses, proposed to take away from the State Church even churches and manses, had stirred both parties to their depths. The Bill was described by the leaders of the Established Church as one involving spoliation, and was called by them "The Destruction of the Church of Scotland Bill." That the feeling against it in the Established Church was intense may be gathered from the fact that a petition against it received 600,000 signatures. Amidst the war of words that waged around this Bill, Dr.

Calderwood, while moving strongly for Disestablishment, took up a distinctly conciliatory attitude. Writing in the *United Presbyterian Magazine* for June 1885, he specially refers to the objections that might reasonably be taken to such a Bill as that of Mr. Peddie's, apart from the question of Disestablishment itself, and concludes with the following words:—

> These objections I recognise as having an important bearing, and deserving consideration from us, as concerned with the interest of a sister Church to be disestablished. They show in a striking way the awkward plight in which an endowed Church finds itself, when, after divisions have arisen, the national mind steadily advances towards religious equality as the rule of State procedure. She who has been favoured must cease to expect favour. On the other hand, we who are urging on Disestablishment, who accept religious equality as the true law of State procedure, and self-support as the true law of Church life, do not wish to allow injury to a sister Church while State favours are withdrawn from her; but we desire that ministers and congregations, and the Church as a whole, be blessed abundantly, and that the Church be made increasingly a blessing, whether in its separate corporate existence, or in organic union with sister Churches.

In the same spirit, he contributes to the April number of the *Presbyterian Review* an article on the relations of the three Presbyterian Churches, in which he pleads that the principle of "give and take" should be applied to the Disestablishment problem. He notes the fact that "Disestablishment and Disendowment seem imminent in Scotland, and likely to be accepted as the rule of the nation."

It is given to the men of the present day to prepare for a new history of the Church in Scotland, and even to secure a fit beginning for a great future. The qualifications required

of those who will lead in this work are a conciliatory spirit, willingness to give and take, and an absorbing desire to secure the unity of the several divisions of our Church in Scotland. In order to terminate the evils of continued severance, let each yield in the spirit of reconciliation all that can be yielded without sacrifice of principle. Will those who concern themselves with the future of Presbyterianism in Scotland consider how far and in what ways the Churches may approach each other, and set themselves to work out a peaceful revolution in accordance with the spirit of the age, and in a manner that may warrant comparison with the success of that political revolution which has given to the United Kingdom a Franchise Act and a Redistribution Bill, receiving the support of the leaders of both parties in the State.

All this was written before a word was heard about Gladstonian Home Rule. There can be no doubt, however, that Mr. Gladstone's famous utterance, spoken during the Midlothian campaign of 1885, in which he relegated Disestablishment to the dim and distant future, was to Calderwood a keen disappointment. Writing in the November number of the *United Presbyterian Magazine* before Mr. Gladstone had spoken, he declares :—

Disestablishment of the Church in Scotland draws near. . . . If the Liberals go into office, Disestablishment will be the work of the coming Parliament. If the Conservatives keep the place held meanwhile, the Church will continue for a time in the enjoyment of its exclusive privileges. On all hands, it is allowed that if the people desire Disestablishment, it must be granted.

In the same periodical a month later, he writes :—

Nothing has happened in the late election which more strikes and disappoints us as Scotchmen, than the change of feeling which has swept over our country towards the great

leader of the Liberal party. The exigencies of party-leadership have cost him the loss of the ardent admiration of thousands of our people; an admiration which was deep-souled and ardent, but which has now been checked to a degree which is a vexation to all who are sensible of the change. Party interests in the South have brought a heavy strain on enthusiastic leadership in the North. Scotchmen have rallied around him in the past with the unrestrained ardour of the race; and they were ready to rally round him again; but on this occasion he found a divided party—keen antagonism between Liberal Churchmen full of fear, and advanced Liberals full of determination; while, in his rear, there was a watchful and eager adversary. In this situation of things he gave it out as his intention to say what he had to say on Disestablishment at his first meeting with the electors of Midlothian. He did say it, calmly, clearly, and determinedly, that Disestablishment was a thing of the remote future. The statement was on the spot met with a volley of "Noes"; and, when it was read over the country, it was received with a sense of deep disappointment. No one mistrusts Mr. Gladstone's judgment as a wise leader—no one in the late Cabinet is so competent a judge of what can be attempted and what ought not. There is no misgiving in this respect. There is no doubt anywhere, among advanced Liberals, of Mr. Gladstone's full-hearted devotion to the cause of political and social progress in all divisions of the Kingdom. There is no abatement of the high admiration of his pre-eminent intellectual power, his statesmanship, and his lofty conscientiousness; but he has shown in this case a lack of full sympathy with the more advanced body of his supporters, and even of generous appreciation of their devotion to Liberalism. . . . Mr. Gladstone is the keen-spirited, trusted Parliamentary leader as before; but not the leader of the Scottish Liberals that he has been. Scottish Liberalism will look to the Scotch somewhat more than it has felt it needful to do for years past.

The great crisis of 1886 found him upon the side of the Liberal Unionists, and how thoroughly his

religion entered into his politics may be gathered from the following words, written at that time :—

> The time is one for evoking the religious spirit of the nation. When there is darkness, confusion, and uncertainty, there is special call for the ascendency of the Christian faith in which prayer lives. We meet at the footstool of our God —King of kings and Lord of lords. We meet, knowing that we differ greatly in our thoughts, and even in our desires and expectations. Let us bow there as suppliants, who recognise their own uncertainty and doubt and fear; and let us ask unitedly, earnestly, persistently, unreservedly, that He who ruleth the nations may shape for us our policy, and guide us in legislation which will bring peace and prosperity, securing justice and liberty.

It was impossible that his attitude towards several public questions, and particularly Disestablishment, should remain quite unaffected by the change in his political position. He was now allied to a party which, taken as a whole, abhorred Disestablishment; and he could not, meanwhile, give effect to his opinions by his political vote. To some this seemed inconsistent, and not a few even charged him with inconsistency. But, from his standpoint, there was no inconsistency. To him the question of Home Rule was supreme. Rather than consent to what he considered to be the dismemberment of the United Kingdom, and the deliverance of the Protestant minority in Ireland to the domination of the Roman Catholic majority, with its priestly influence, he was willing that the reforms upon which he had previously set his heart should be held in abeyance. If the price to be paid for them was the passing of a Home Rule Bill, he would not accept them at such a cost.

Apart altogether from political change, his mind

had been gradually growing in the tendency to regard every problem from different standpoints, and to seek the solution in some method that would give effect to all that was best in both. Nowhere was this tendency more in evidence than upon questions which separated the Churches; for his whole heart was set upon union. He believed in it with his whole soul, and often gave expression to the conviction that, if the union of the Presbyterian Churches could be accomplished, it would put an end to many of the evils afflicting the religious life of Scotland, and bestow upon the Church enormous additional strength.

After 1886 his efforts in that direction were set down by not a few to political motives; but, as a matter of fact, they were dictated far more by a desire to keep the Church from needlessly irritating procedure and to pave the way for future threefold union.

Guided by this principle, he opposed the Synod in petitioning against the Ecclesiastical Assessments Bill. That Bill was designed to relieve the heritors of the upkeep of manses and churches, and thus remove one of the grievances that dissenters had long complained of. On the ground, however, that the inner motive of the Bill lay in the desire to strengthen the Established Church, and thus perpetuate what the Synod regarded as a still greater wrong, the Court, by a majority, determined to petition against it. That was a line of argument that did not commend itself to Dr. Calderwood; and he, along with a few others, dissented against what he reckoned an unworthy finding.

In 1889 an article published by him in the *United Presbyterian Magazine*, under the signature of the editor, showed how his mind was travelling. In it he gave a very friendly reception to a proposal that

appeared in the *Scots Magazine*, signed by an Established Church minister, suggesting that the Church question should be settled by way of compromise. The Established Church was to relinquish her connection with the State, and dissenters to drop their objection to Church endowment. In his article, Dr. Calderwood does not absolutely commit himself to acceptance of this offer, but points out that, while United Presbyterians have no objection to endowment as such, they have a deep and unchangeable conviction against the appropriation of public money to religious ends. He thinks that there is, in the above proposal, mutual ground upon which the Churches might meet; and declares "that, if the Established Church take the initiative in the spirit and form here indicated, as we hope she will, the appeal to the sister Churches will be one of great power."

Altogether, the article was extremely friendly to the suggestion, and closed with an eloquent forecast of what might be accomplished in Scotland by a strong, free, united Church. This article gave great offence to many in the United Presbyterian Church, and all the more so because it was signed by the editor of what might be called a semi-official organ of the Church. The breach between him and the majority of the Synod upon the whole question of the relations of the Churches was becoming wider.

During that and the following year the Synod's Disestablishment Committee was particularly aggressive, and, amongst other papers, issued an answer to his articles, repudiating all suggestions of compromise, and declaring that the principles of the Church demanded both Disestablishment and Disendowment.

In the Synod of 1890 he took the bold step of

challenging the methods of the Disestablishment Committee, and asked the Synod, while maintaining its testimony in favour of religious equality, to instruct its Committee to refrain from intervention in political affairs.

This motion, if passed, would doubtless have brought about the resignation of the Committee; and, as one speaker pointed out, it would be kinder to discharge the Committee than reduce it to a state of silent impotence. Dr. Calderwood's motion was defeated by an overwhelming majority, and served still further to kindle in many minds a strong feeling against him. His own view was that the habit the Committee had contracted of rushing into print to answer every opponent, and of interviewing members of Parliament, was not calculated to further the interests of Disestablishment, and was greatly increasing the tension between the Churches. That this consideration chiefly weighed with him is plain from the closing words of his speech:—

> We are quite clear that we do not mean to inflict injury on a sister Church, for Disestablishment is not an end, but a means to an end, which includes prosperity to the whole Christian Church in Scotland. But it will take time and effort to convince our brethren of this when their privileges are assailed, and to incline them to meet us as if we were truly friendly to their Church. Our duty in the matter is clear and solemn. It is to demonstrate our conviction in favour of terminating existing relations between Church and State, a conviction cherished along with a sincere desire for the prosperity of the Church as at present established. Any injury to the spiritual power of the Church would be as much a grief to us as it would be to its own members. The individual Christian is as the palm tree, so also is the Church of Christ as a whole. In pleading for religious equality, we

do not wish to see a living branch begin to wither, so that it must be cut off and cast away. We wish that all branches should grow from the one root, nourished in equal vitality, increasing together in fruitfulness.

During the years 1890-91, opposition to the methods of the Disestablishment Committee became stronger, and spread throughout the Church. No less than thirty-six overtures, signed by over a thousand members, were presented to the Synod of 1891, praying for the discharge of the Disestablishment Committee; and fully half a dozen more requested the Synod to refrain from political action. Mr. Gladstone had now declared for Scottish Disestablishment, thus throwing the question into the maelstrom of political discussion. Church Defence Associations, on the one hand, had been misrepresenting the issues involved, and the Synod's Committee, on the other hand, had been answering them after their own manner. Dr. Calderwood agreed with neither the one nor the other: "A plague on both your Houses." In a speech delivered in support of the overturists, he said that he stood by Disestablishment and Disendowment, but he believed that if the United Presbyterian Church would put upon itself the self-denying ordinance asked of it, such action would pave the way for a better understanding with the Established Church, and possibly lead to ultimate union.

Their duty was to cast away fear as to compromise of Voluntaryism: that fear was a nightmare. Let them do their utmost to advance the union of Scottish Presbyterians without compromise of principle. Let them long for it, endure much for it, pray for it, and, above all, guard against this, that loyalty to their principles should tempt them to forget the claim resting upon them for brotherhood and love. They should desire to see the day come, and come quickly,

when men would say, "Union first and defence second"—a defence which would be secure for all, when they passed out from the old restraints and entered upon a new and grander career.

In the vote, only 38 thought with him, and 415 against him.

These incidents did not take place without manifestation of keen feeling, calculated to try the warmth of his attachment to the Church of his fathers; but it can be truly said that that never wavered. He loved his Church with deep and unalterable affection, appreciated her devotion to civil and religious liberty, was proud of her ardour in foreign mission enterprise, and was at one with her in her strong attachment to evangelical truth. These Synodical storms touched only the surface of his deep love for the Church of his own people. It did not occur to him that, because the vast majority were against him, he should keep his opinions dark or cease to urge what he considered the better way. Many admired him in opposition more than they had done in the days when he was carrying all before him. He had borne his successes with humility, desiring only that he should be used to attain the furtherance of the views he cherished. The thought of "self" entered just as little into his day of defeat. When almost the whole Synod was against him, he would calmly unfold his views, taking care not to arouse, but always to allay passion, holding a strong restraint over himself in the midst of clamour. To those who knew how quick his temper was by nature, it was often a marvel how firmly he could hold the reins. When, as very occasionally happened, he was the object of unworthy attack or of unjust taunts, he never replied in kind—as a rule, refrained from all manner of reference

to it. He betrayed to those who knew him intimately his resentment by the quick flash of the eye; but in a moment it was gone. Once he was hissed in the Synod for stating a very unpopular opinion. His face flushed, his eye kindled, and, looking the Synod straight in the face, he said, "If that hiss is meant for me, I have to say I do not regard it"; but that was about the utmost notice he ever took of unworthy and unjustifiable attacks.

Throughout life he was in many controversies, but probably no public man was ever in fewer into which the personal element was introduced. Holding his own views strongly and clearly, he respected the convictions of others, and expected those opposed to him to do likewise. When they failed to do that, he never followed in the devious paths of personal abuse. He left the unworthy insinuation to take its own revenge upon the man who made it.

The separation which had now taken place between him and the great majority of the Synod on the question of the true method of advancing Disestablishment made it impossible for him to carry on the editorship of the United Presbyterian Magazine with any comfort. At the Synod of 1891 he arranged for the appointment of a successor, but agreed to continue on the Editorial Committee. In the June number the following editorial appears, signed "H. Calderwood":—

After six years of pleasant service I bring my editorial duties to a close, with a parting farewell to the many readers and contributors who have kindly sustained the effort to make the Magazine a success. Happily I shall not terminate my relations with the literary department, nor with the Editorial Committee. While holding the Voluntary Principle unreservedly, I am unable to treat of Disestablishment and

Disendowment without subordinating the entire discussion to the reunion of the Presbyterians of Scotland; and, in doing so, I am, to some extent, at variance with the convictions and expectations of the majority in our Church. I bespeak favour and hearty support for my esteemed friend, the Rev. Dr. Corbett, who now takes charge, and who will prove an able and skilful editor.

A clever contributor to the same number takes leave of his old editor with a kindly and humorous farewell:—

Dr. Calderwood was good to me, as to all who tried their 'prentice hand in the Magazine. Sometimes he left out my best things; but, as a rule, he spared the rod, I hope without spoiling the child. It is not for me to say here how much the Magazine, and how much the Church, owes him for a thousand services rendered all for love, and nothing for reward.

Towards the close of 1893 Professor Calderwood took a prominent part in originating a movement upon which he was afterwards to spend a great deal of time and strength. It issued in a series of conferences between representative men of the three Presbyterian Churches, who sought to ascertain whether a possible basis of union could be reached without the sacrifice of any essential principle. A united Church was the dream of Calderwood's later years, and he was sanguine enough to imagine that it might be reached by way of mutual compromise. The difficulties in the way of anything practical being accomplished were enormous; but he met these with dauntless hopefulness, and for long cherished the greatest expectations regarding the movement.

The preliminary meeting was held in St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, in the autumn of 1893, when the

six gentlemen present all expressed a warm desire for the reunion of Scottish Presbyterianism, and resolved to invite leading ministers and laymen to a conference. Their numbers gradually grew by invitation from within until there was a representation of eighteen from each of the three Churches. While certain notable names are absent, the conference, in its ultimate form, may be said to have been thoroughly representative of the Churches in weight, ability, and variety of opinion. No such bold or striking effort had ever before been made to heal the breaches of Zion and bring together the scattered remnants of Scottish Presbyterianism.

From the Established Church there came such men as Professor Flint and Professor Charteris, Dr. Alison, Dr. Scott, Dr. MacGregor, Dr. Cameron Lees of Edinburgh, Dr. Marshall Lang of Glasgow, Lord Polwarth, Sir Ralph Anstruther, Sheriff Cheyne; from the Free Church, Professor Candlish, Dr. Bannerman of Perth, Dr. Wm. Balfour, Dr. Ross Taylor, Sir Thomas Clark, Bart., A. Taylor Innes, Esq., Sheriff Jameson; and from the United Presbyterian Church, along with Professor Calderwood, Dr. Andrew Thomson, Dr. Henderson of Paisley, Dr. Hutchison of Bonnington, Dr. Mair, Mr. Jerdan of Greenock, Dr. Kidd, Dr. Macewan of Glasgow, R. Gourlay, Esq., the late W. Duncan, Esq., S.S.C., John Smart, Esq., S.S.C., and others not less representative.

The circular calling the first enlarged meeting defined the object of the conference, and the understanding upon which the members entered it.

A few friends from each of the three Churches met to consider whether it might be possible to secure a friendly conference to talk unreservedly of the union of

the three Churches, lifting the Church question out of the arena of party politics. It was thought desirable to make the attempt, on the understanding that matters on which Presbyterians differed should be fully discussed, each member of the conference being held as representing only his own opinion, without prejudice to the official decision of the denomination of which he is a member, and is in no way bound by any conclusion which the conferring parties may arrive at.

It will be seen from this that the ministers and elders who formed this Round Table possessed no credentials from their Church Courts; but there can be no doubt that, if they had succeeded, the movement would quickly have found its way into the Churches to which they belonged.

During the earlier meetings of the conference, the less controversial subjects were dealt with, and an astonishing amount of agreement was revealed. With regard to the old Reformation and Revolution Statutes, they found themselves so far in agreement that they unanimously resolved to record their approval of them in so far as they contained a rejection by the State of the usurped claims of the Papal Church, and an expression of the allegiance which the nation owes to Christ. With the same unanimity, the conference expressed disapproval of them, in so far as they embodied persecuting principles and contained provisions which prejudice the rights of Christian Churches. Beyond these points there was divergence of opinion.

On the still more important subject of spiritual independence, a unanimous finding was reached, the most important point in which was:—

The duty devolves upon each particular Church to maintain inviolate its birthright of spiritual independence. It must adequately safeguard the free rights essential to a Christian

Church in all matters spiritual, such as doctrine, discipline, worship, and government, from coercive interference at the hands of any external authority whatsoever, whether ecclesiastical or civil.

The question of national religion was then dealt with, and proved a much more thorny topic; but, even here, a substantial amount of agreement was reached. The "Articles of Agreement" of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches were unanimously accepted, as so far a reasonable basis from which to start negotiations for union. An additional statement, showing still more explicit agreement, was constructed, and, in this connection, a preliminary paper was put in by Professor Calderwood, with a view to expressing how a nation may acquit itself of its religious obligations without impairing the true Voluntary Principle. The final agreement, which was unanimously adopted, was largely on the lines of his paper, and contained the following distinctive features:—

1. In the case of a Christian nation, the State ought to avow itself subject to the law of Christ, and is bound to embody and apply the spirit and the principles of that law in its own legislation and procedure.

2. While the State ought to refrain from encroaching on the sphere of the Church, it is its right and duty to realise that it is itself an ordinance of God, entitled and bound to take its place and fulfil its duty in the Divine kingdom, legislating and acting within the limits appropriate to the civil power, with a view to the promotion of righteousness and godliness within its own borders and throughout the world.

3. Amongst the various specific ways in which a Christian State may fulfil obligations towards religion, there is a general agreement as to the following: (1) By seeking the Divine guidance and blessing in connection with its representative acts and public functions. (2) By recognising the Church of Christ as a Divine institution, and the chief means for the

promotion of righteousness and godliness, and by respecting its true spiritual independence. (3) By providing facilities for the religious education of the young, and by promoting measures for the moral and social improvement of the people. (4) By making provision for the supply of religious ordinances in public institutions under its direct control, such as the Navy and Army.

It was when the members of conference came to deal with the application of the principle of national religion to civil establishment and endowment that they found themselves hopelessly divided. Various papers were drawn up conjointly and individually, representing different ideas upon the subject, but these only served to show the impossibility of agreement. One of these, by Dr. Calderwood himself, no doubt indicates the utmost length to which he could go in the way of a substitute for the establishment of religion. It marks an advance upon, or, as some would think, a falling back from, anything he would have written in his earlier days. It contained these important concessions :—

1. In the event of reunion of the Presbyterians of Scotland, the British Legislature, on memorial from the Established Church, and in concurrence with the sister Presbyterian Churches, may recognise the reconstituted Presbyterian Church as, *de facto*, the "National Church," thereby acknowledging that the Scottish nation is Protestant in faith and Presbyterian in Church government, and that the reconstituted Church stands in historic continuity with the Church of the Reformation, whose position and interests were provided for in the Treaty of Union between Scotland and England.

2. It would, on the part of the British Legislature, be fulfilment of its civil obligations and a further recognition of national religion, to deal with the endowments of the Church as funds appropriated to religious uses, and to be utilised for meeting the religious wants of thinly-populated districts, and of the poorer classes of the people, on the

understanding that the reunited Church undertake all responsibilities for maintaining its own efficiency.

No compromise, however, could secure unity amongst the various sections of the conference.

The Established Church members declared that, in their opinion, the Church of Scotland could not, without inconsistency and unfaithfulness, surrender Establishment. They were prepared to permit liberty of opinion upon the Establishment principle, but the united Church must be established by law. To this the Free Church members replied that the real obstacle to Presbyterian union lay not in *differences of opinion*, which might confessedly be tolerated, but in the *actual existence* of a State connection, into which two of the Churches had deliberately and repeatedly declared they could not enter.

Nine United Presbyterian members, including Dr. Calderwood, signed a paper which spoke in a similar strain :—

> As long as the State maintains an Established Church, this hindrance to union will exist. In our opinion, it would disappear if the Establishment of the Church were terminated. We beg respectfully to suggest that it would be impossible for a Church to exist separately for any length of time, if the only ground for her separate existence were the theory that the State had acted wrongly in disestablishing the Church, especially when opinions on Establishment are, as has been acknowledged, not proper terms of Church Communion. This suggestion is confirmed by the history of Church union in the Colonies.

With regard to the suggestion that came from the Established Church members that, failing incorporate union, there might be a federation of the Churches on condition that they would all refrain from the Disestablishment controversy, and that there might thus be

secured "a truce of God,"—the reply was made that "this could be entitled a truce of God only on the supposition that God was on the side of the *status quo*."

As matters now stood, with neither party able to give way, the conference had come to a deadlock, and was therefore brought to a close with a motion which recorded "its warm gratification at the brotherly spirit which had all along characterised the discussions, and at the large amount of agreement which had been revealed in regard to important principles, and its deep regret at finding itself unable to agree upon a basis for incorporating union between the three Churches."

On the 5th March 1896, the conference met for the last time, and agreed to record "their deep indebtedness to Professor Calderwood for the great care, skill, and attention which he had shown throughout the conference, and for his invaluable services as Convener of the Business Committee." That was the last item of business which it transacted.

Thus ended a movement upon which many of the leading men in the Scottish Churches had spent a great deal of time and energy, and which to Dr. Calderwood especially had been a source of strong hope. It may be said that failure had to be written over it: but it is out of many such failures that the achievements of the world spring. If it please God in His own time to gather into one the three Presbyterian Churches of Scotland and lead them onward as one great army of the Living God, then it may be found that not the least of the human factors which have helped to bring about that desirable result was the better understanding of each other's position gained in the friendly meetings of this conference. "He that goeth forth and weepeth,

bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him."

Upon another question Dr. Calderwood appeared to many to change greatly in later life, and in consequence gave not a little offence to old allies and friends. This was upon the Temperance question. The change, however, in this case, lay not so much in him as in the fact that he did not travel at the same pace nor in the same direction as those with whom he was previously associated.

As we have seen, he was from an early period connected with the Scottish Temperance League, and was for several years one of its Directors. The bond of union in the Association is entire abstinence from either giving or taking alcoholic liquors, unless in the case of illness. In 1871 he retired from the Association, as he began to have difficulties about that part of the pledge which prevented him, under any circumstances, except that of illness, giving stimulants to others. With regard to himself, he remained a consistent total abstainer till his dying day, and even in sickness showed great reluctance in availing himself of stimulants. When one of his family was ordered wine by the doctor, he asked if nothing else could take its place. On receiving the reply that a less palatable, but probably not less effective, medicine might be given instead, he unhesitatingly expressed the wish that it should be tried. While quite clear as to his duty with regard to himself and his household, he began to have a growing doubt as to his right to apply this law of abstinence to his guests while they were under his roof. The view he ultimately took was that, while he had a perfect right to judge for himself and act upon his conscientious conviction, he was not called upon to

judge for others equally capable of forming an opinion, and that the responsibility of taking wine lay with them. On ordinary occasions, wine was never upon his table, but after 1871, whenever he knew that the want of it would be felt as a privation, especially by those advanced in years, it was supplied, as a host might supply to his guests an article of diet in which he himself did not think it right to indulge.

This change was significant of much. A section of the Temperance party with which he had worked in earlier days, came in an increasing degree to regard all alcoholic liquor as an evil in itself—a deadly poison that must be got rid of at all costs and by all means. With this section of Temperance men he found himself more and more at variance as life went on, until they poured upon him the vials of their wrath on account of his ardent interest in the Threefold Option movement.

When in 1875 overtures on behalf of the use of unfermented wine at the Communion Table were presented to the Synod, he strongly opposed them, and carried the following resolution :—

1. The Synod deeply regrets that some members of the Church reclaimed from intemperance are represented as having expressed a dread of relapsing into their former sin by the use of wine in the Lord's Supper: recommends sessions, on receiving a representation of their case from such persons, to deal kindly and compassionately with them ; and further recommends said sessions to adopt such measures as they may deem wise for removing the difficulties of such members in connection with the observance of the ordinance.

2. Without restricting the liberty at present enjoyed by sessions in providing for the observance of the Lord's Supper, the Synod declines to give formal sanction to the use of the unfermented juice of the grape in the celebration of the ordi-

nance, or in any way to encourage the general adoption of such juice of the grape as an appropriate symbol.

3. The Synod declines to lay down any rule on this subject, but considers a mild, natural wine as most in accordance with the institutions of the Sacrament, and with the common practice of the Church in all ages.

4. The Synod considers the agitation of the subject of Communion wine on the grounds indicated in the overtures and petitions unwarranted; disapproves of the continuance of this agitation, and counsels congregations and sessions under its charge to be guided in future proceedings by the foregoing resolutions.

His view was that the mildest natural wine ought to be used at the Communion Table, and this he was instrumental in helping to introduce into Morningside congregation; but further than that he would never go in the direction of an agitation, the main support of which lay in the belief that the mere touch of alcoholic liquor was sinful.

Again, in 1888, when the Synod's Committee on Temperance and Morals proposed to institute a Church Temperance Society on the basis of total abstinence, he surprised many of his friends by opposing its formation, and suggested that a Church Society should include all who were prepared to labour for the repression of intemperance—non-abstainers as well as abstainers. When one speaker pointed out that this argument went a great deal further than simply that the dual basis was best for Church organisation, viz., that it was best for a Temperance Society inside the Church or out of it, Dr. Calderwood, not in the least abashed, replied, "So I think it is."

This was undoubtedly different ground from what he took up in his earlier days, and prepares us for his final position upon Legislative Temperance Reform.

Some will call this change growth; others, retrogression; but it is clear that he does not now view the subject from the same simple standpoint as of old.

Upon the legislative aspect of the question, also, he parted company with his friends of earlier days; or, perhaps, it might be equally accurate to say that they parted company with him. When he was a member and Director of the Scottish Temperance League, that Association pressed its vigorous attacks upon the drinking customs of the country almost entirely along the line of moral suasion. Latterly, it turned its attention, in an increasing degree, to legislative action. In company with other Temperance Associations throughout the country, such as the Permissive Bill Association and the Independent Order of Good Templars, it took up more and more advanced positions. The less the Imperial Parliament was inclined to grant, the more uncompromising became the demands of the Temperance party. At first, they agreed upon Local Option, the main principle of which was that power should be given to each district to say how the liquor traffic should be dealt with within its own borders. Later on, Local Option gave place to Local Veto, that is, the right of the majority in a district absolutely to prohibit the retail sale of alcoholic liquors. At first, compensation to the publicans who might, by a change of law, be suddenly deprived of their means of livelihood, was a moot-point amongst Temperance reformers; but latterly, compensation, either out of the rates or from the drink traffic itself, was declared to be rank heresy on the part of any Temperance reformer.

Dr. Calderwood was not able to follow the Temperance party in these later developments. He was of opinion that half a loaf was better than no bread. He

had long been convinced that it would be a wise policy to buy out the publicans wherever that was possible, and to reduce the number of licenses through additional taxation of those that remained. Hence, when the Threefold Option movement arose, containing in it elements of moderation that he had long desiderated, it appealed to him as no suggested Temperance reform of recent years had done, and, in consequence, he threw himself into it with all his characteristic ardour.

This latest reform movement, which now goes under the name of the Threefold Option Alliance, may be said to have originated with Rev. James Paton, B.A., of St. Paul's Church, Glasgow, who, as Convener of the General Assembly's Committee on Temperance, submitted to that Court in 1895 a memorandum containing suggestions for more efficient control of the liquor traffic. This memorandum included the main points of Sir W. Harcourt's Local Veto Bill, and the Bishop of Chester's Bill for the Retail Sale of Liquor by Authorised Companies, but possessed features distinct from both. In the course of consultation with a view to originating a national movement, Mr. Paton met Professor Calderwood; and, on explaining his scheme to him, found that it had his heartiest support. From that moment Dr. Calderwood became intimately identified with the movement, was chief adviser of those originating it, and largely responsible for the exact shape that the proposals finally assumed. His name was appended to the first circular, which was issued in March 1896, with a view to explaining the scheme to the public and inviting its support. Along with his name, there was a long array of men of considerable weight and influence, many of whom had long been known as consistent abstainers and ardent Temperance

reformers. The original circular contained the leading provisions of the scheme, which have remained unaltered from that time to this, notwithstanding continual changes in detail. Its leading principle was that to every borough or County Council area there should be granted the power to say how far, or in what fashion, the liquor traffic should be carried on in its midst. This was the principle of Local Control or Regulation of the Liquor Traffic. Each district would have the right of choice between three options, but in the event of none of these receiving the requisite majority, the licensing authority, which would be the Town Council in the case of boroughs, and the County Council in the case of counties, would continue to administer the present Licensing Laws. In the original circular these three options were described thus :—

1. *Local Limitation of the Traffic.*—Limitation proceeds on the supposition that the present licensed houses are in excess of the legitimate requirements of the population, thereby creating many evils and offences; and that the reduction of the number of licenses, their wiser distribution as regards localities, and the refusal of transfers, might tend to lessen facilities that are proved to be temptations to intemperance, which certain classes apparently cannot resist.

2. *Local Management of the Traffic.*—Management, by Local Authorities, or by Companies, under their sanction, proceeds upon the supposition that the community, by eliminating the element of private gain on the part of the seller, and regulating and controlling the traffic in the public interest alone, may lessen the evils now associated with it, and greatly reduce the horrible vices and miseries of intemperance.

3. *Local Prohibition of the Traffic.*—Prohibition proceeds on the supposition that the common sale of intoxicating liquors has proved itself to be so detrimental to the public welfare that the community, if so resolved, ought to have the

right to abolish it; and that the case is such that the liberty of a minority may be lawfully curtailed by the desire and for the benefit of a sufficient majority, as is done in other grave affairs of general interest.

The Bill which was afterwards drawn up embodying these main provisions contained conditions which, in the eyes of some, materially affected the character of the scheme. Indeed, it was against some of these details that the opponents of the measure directed their strongest attacks. It was proposed, for example, that *limitation* or *management* should be carried by a simple majority of those voting; but, in the case of *prohibition*, a majority of the entire electorate, or of two-thirds of those voting, would be required. This provision proceeded on the assumption that entire prohibition of the liquor traffic was such a radical measure that, in order to be made effective, it required a great body of public opinion behind it. The experience of some of the prohibition States in America tends to substantiate that view.

Another feature in the Bill, which gave great offence to a certain section of Temperance men, was that prohibition, even when carried by the requisite majority, was not made absolute. It left untouched hotels, railway restaurants, eating-houses, and clubs, but, at the same time, put them under very decided limitations as to the sale of drink. These exceptions were contained in Sir W. Harcourt's Local Veto Bill, and it was the opinion of the supporters of the Alliance that nothing more drastic would pass the Houses of Parliament.

The two provisions of the measure, however, which aroused the most uncompromising opposition were the proposals for management and compensation. In the event of management being carried in a particular

district, it was provided that the whole traffic in alcoholic liquors should be taken over by the licensing authority, and carried on under strict regulations, either by itself, or by a company under its control. With a view to eliminating the element of private gain, four per cent only was to be paid on the capital invested. Thereafter, all profit was to go into the Temperance Reform Fund, which, after paying compensation to the license-holders who would be dispossessed through the operations of the Act, was to be used for strictly benevolent purposes.

The principle of compensation formed a distinctive feature of the Threefold Option Bill. After the highest court in the country had declared that compensation could not legally be claimed by a publican[1] whose license was not renewed, the cry of the Temperance party was stronger than ever against compensation. The Threefold Optionists, however, believed that it was not just to take full advantage of this legal right, and that some consideration should be shown to those who might suddenly be deprived of their occupation by the introduction of limitation, prohibition, or management. They carefully stated in their Bill that on no account was the compensation to be provided out of the rates. It was to be made either in the shape of a time-notice of five years, or by an immediate payment, amounting to a gift of three years' rent to the owner of the property, and five years' net profit to the license-holder. The money paid out for this purpose was to be a first charge upon the Temperance Reform Fund, into which should be paid all moneys accruing from a special license rent exacted from the owners of licensed property, and also special license fee paid by retail

[1] *Sharpe* v. *Wakefield*, 1892.

dealers upon all excisable liquors purchased by them, or in the case of management, all profits derived therefrom. Whatever surplus remained was either to be paid into the Imperial Exchequer, or to be used for public and benevolent enterprises that could not be supported out of the rates. In no case was any part of the fund to be devoted to the relief of local taxation.

Such were the main proposals of the Temperance Reform movement, which Dr. Calderwood took up with eager interest during the closing year of his life. For one who was now well past mid-life, he gave himself to this work with astonishing virility. He addressed meetings, he interviewed members of Parliament, he wrote pamphlets—indeed, he seemed to become for a time the pivot of the movement, and to be regarded by its critics as the most dangerous man connected with it.

Why did he go into this movement so heartily, and give it so much of his time and strength? It was not because he loved management, or was convinced that it would be a great success. He certainly believed that it would be far better than the present system; but he again and again declared that of the three options his own personal preference was for limitation. He recognised, however, that many Temperance reformers, like the Bishop of Chester, believed in management, and he was willing to join hands with them, in order that power might be obtained from Parliament to let each locality decide for itself. He regarded the action of a section of the Temperance party, in tying itself down to absolute veto, as an act of supreme folly. In his speech at Glasgow, he said he regarded prohibition as a five-barred gate in the way of progress, firmly padlocked. What they did was to walk up to it, make a great demonstration, and then go home, saying,

"That has been a most successful demonstration!" He did not say they were wrong in being satisfied; but the country was not satisfied. After forty years' experience, he himself was sick of the whole thing.

Writing again on 30th June, he says:—

> The course of political agitation is thus clear, and the obstacles to reform can be forecast. The extreme Temperance reformers will have nothing unless prohibition be the leading demand. They have deliberately taken up the position of resistance to a proposal for popular control by Threefold Option. Even when admitting that the regulations suggested for management of licensed houses would tend to secure the abolition of certain present evils connected with them, the leaders of the prohibition party have declared in favour of continuance of present evils, rather than consent to management. I cannot think it possible that the party as a whole will accept this decision. There are already signs of yielding. Many prohibitionists favour acceptance of partial reforms. Temperance reformers must take sides as to the policy to be accepted. The promoters of the Threefold Option Alliance are agreed that limitation, management, and prohibition must be submitted to the choice of the people. All who are against the demand for prohibition are summoned to action for such reforms as the popular vote may favour. Our future depends mainly on the action of this large body of electors. With whatever regret, we must face the opposition of the extreme prohibitionists. I plead that all moderate men—abstainers and non-abstainers—desiring a steady reform, should give immediate and active support to the Threefold Option Alliance.

To the misunderstandings and misrepresentations to which this scheme was subjected from its first introduction to the public, he replied with vigour in a series of speeches, letters, magazine articles, and pamphlets, which showed how much he had the matter at heart. Sometimes the attacks took a personal turn,

and occasionally they were exceedingly virulent, but, in later life, he never showed to better advantage than in dealing with angry opponents.

"We cannot wonder," he writes to a friend at this time, "that some are so much carried away by dread of mischief that they cannot be unprejudiced."

In an article which he wrote for the November number of the *United Presbyterian Magazine* (1897), and which must have been about the last thing that he wrote, he endeavoured to meet the many objections and prophecies of evil that were brought against this scheme, and at the same time stated very clearly his reasons for supporting it.

What shall we do to cope with the present evil? Moral suasion must be the basis of all individual reform, but it does not suffice to meet the wants of the country. We must deal with our public-house arrangement. Our present system is bad,—bad as to the mode of issuing licenses; bad in respect of management of licensed houses; bad in results,—dire poverty and sad degradation on the one hand, growing wealth on the other. . . .

Temperance reformers need to give more consideration to the difficulties of this campaign. We must combine all plans of operation against drunkenness, if we are to carry the victory. . . .

What then is the campaign we are preparing for, in view of the contending forces? It can be nothing larger than restriction. Within the prohibitionist ranks, conviction is strong enough; but the 20,000 cannot be outvoted by 10,000. What we can hope to carry is restriction of the public-house power, in order to abate drunkenness. How can this be accomplished? Not by abstainers only, but by the combination of abstainers and non-abstainers. Reform depends on victory; victory on votes; majorities prevail. Let our demand be Prohibition; in the present state of opinion it will be rejected. Let sections of temperance men dispute about precedence, the enemy will smite with double effect

when the temperance ranks are in confusion. But if our preparations involve the rallying of the allied forces—abstainers and non-abstainers—the end will be victory. Limited demands and united forces to carry them—these are the conditions of success.

To the objection which many abstainers urged against submitting management even as an option to the electorate, on the ground that such action would implicate them in the continuance of the liquor traffic, he replied: "Is it morally wrong to provide for management of public-houses in the public interest? Is it morally wrong to seek diminution of drunkenness by a reformed system of control? Diminution of drunkenness being morally right, what is the moral wrong involved in making a company the license-holder rather than an individual? . . .

"The community is implicated now in all the evils of the present system; it must be implicated, whatever the number of licenses, and whether the holders be individuals or companies. What we desire now is to implicate the community in some direct effort to deliver our country from drunkenness, by wiser legislation and by exercise of direct local control. I am pleading for what is *morally better* than our present system, and for the help of all who desire moral advance." . . .

Much of the argument recently advanced by prominent abstainers seems to me fallacious. The argument is vitiated by taking "abstainers" and "temperance reformers" as identical, and then saying that "if they adopt the management option, they may as well strike their flags as advocates of abstinence." May an abstainer issue a license to an individual, yet become inconsistent in issuing the same license to a company, which adds to the common obligations of their license this other, that they will seek to prevent drunkenness? All the deepest convictions we cherish ought to carry rejection

of this view. Again, is it a condition of being an abstainer that we refuse co-operation with non-abstainers for license reform? Have abstainers an exclusive patent for reform; and must all other citizens be cut out by our monopoly? Is acknowledgment of this a condition of holding our position in the abstinence society? This exclusive spirit is, unhappily, fostered within the ranks of abstainers. It comes from the disposition to deal with drinking as a sin, and with drunkenness as only a deeper degree of it. Yet we do not pledge ourselves to make abstinence an end in itself, we do not proclaim abstinence as an essential part of human duty, but as a special expedient to meet a special condition of things. If this is not the basis for our movement, we have changed the basis, and our pledges require to be altered. "Abstain, because drunkenness is so alarmingly prevalent, and you may thus help to lessen the wickedness!" With all my heart I consent: "Abstain, because drinking is a sin." I cannot agree. Where is the authority for saying that every man who uses alcoholic drinks is, in this respect, a sinner? Who has given warrant for such a frightful addition to the world's sin?

. . . Those who make drinking a sin cannot join in a national movement for license reform, they can only testify against prevailing wickedness, and guard against the promotion of any scheme which does not make abstinence its end. I can have no part in this policy, because I have no faith in it. I prefer to turn attention to more favourable aspects of *public* opinion. There is a widespread desire for temperance reform—willingness to seek the combination of all the forces prepared to go against drunkenness—preference for effective combination of all ranks and classes. This is our hope.

Referring to the Royal Commission which was then sitting upon the licensing laws, he expresses the hope that it will bring in important proposals which might open the way for reform, and concludes with the earnest prayer:—

Instead of an uphill fight against overwhelming opposition, we may see a breach in the walls—an opening for advance—

and the friends of temperance may be fired with new zeal, because inspired by new hope. May the day come quickly, and may our country's good be great and lasting by reason of an effective check on the prevailing drunkenness, and by a growing sentiment in favour of sobriety and social progress!

Henry Calderwood passed from the earthly scene of his labours shortly after these words were penned, and the three-fold option movement lost his courageous and fervent advocacy. There was no wonder that the Executive of the Alliance put upon record their sense of the irreparable loss they had sustained through his death. "His wise counsel, his kindly encouragement, and his general conciliatory temperament, will be sorely missed by his fellow-workers."

Since his death, two notable publications have appeared, which have gone far to show the true statesmanship and sagacity he displayed in taking up this movement. The one is Rowntree and Sherwell's book on *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform*—a book which, with an array of facts and statistics such as have never before been presented to the public, substantiates the main contentions of the threefold optionists. The other is the report of the Royal Commission, to which Dr. Calderwood referred in the article already quoted from.

There the *minority* report, which is much the more favourable to temperance reform, falls short of the proposals of the Threefold Option Alliance, and, so far as it refers to management, speaks of it as a method which would probably reduce many of the evils of the public-house. Mr. Whittaker, one of the most convinced prohibitionists on the Commission, speaks of the system of local self-management properly safeguarded as a hopeful solution of the problem:—

While the system (*i.e.* management) cannot be regarded as complete, or even the best available remedy for the evils of our drinking system, there are, as compared with any ordinary licensing system, a sufficient number of good points about it to render it desirable that, when the liquor traffic is to be carried on, the people of the locality should have the option offered them of placing the sale of drink under the control of persons who would have no interest in pushing it.

From all this, it is clear that Dr. Calderwood did not underestimate what was practicable in the immediate future in the way of temperance reform, and that his advice to those interested in the removal of the evils of drunkenness, to take the smallest legislative improvement that was offered, was in the main sound, and such as, if acted upon, would lead to better results in the years to come. Signs are not lacking at the present time that that view is now being adopted by a growing number of those who have hitherto been reckoned as belonging to the extreme wing of the temperance party.

CHAPTER XV

LIFE AT CARR BRIDGE

Ardnacoille—Cordiality in the parish of Duthil—Sunday evening services —Visitors—The Institute—Presentation of Address—Memorial tablet.

FOR many years the long summer holidays were spent in some quiet spot on the shores of Argyllshire, but in 1887 the family went north to the then little inn at Carr Bridge in Strathspey. A more breezy, bracing resort could scarcely have been found, yet the first going was somewhat of an experiment. Professor Calderwood had sometimes expressed a desire for a quiet resort amongst the hills where the air was bracing and fresh, and this desire was not more on his own account than on that of his wife. Indeed we might safely say that the desire was chiefly felt for his wife, because his own wishes were ever subservient to the wishes of others. Never was there a more tender and devoted husband.

A lady whom he met in Edinburgh suddenly mystified him by exclaiming triumphantly she had found the place he was looking for. He was not sure he was looking for any particular place, and had to ask her to explain. She said she had heard him describe the sort of place he would like to spend his summers

in, and that Carr Bridge was the place. He had to ask where it was. But the description so well suited the ideal that to Carr Bridge the family went forthwith, and four months of each succeeding year were spent there.

In those days the route was by the Highland Railway to Boat of Garten, the station beyond the present junction of Aviemore, whence a drive of five miles in a westerly direction carried the traveller from the side of the river Spey into the higher valley of the Dulnain, a tributary of the Spey, at the point where the little village of Carr Bridge nestles midst the last great pines of an old forest. The time-honoured coach road between Perth and Inverness here crosses the Dulnain at a sharp angle, and beside the present span stands a monument of ancient Highland bridge-building.

The history of the old structure is lost in obscurity, but it certainly saw many generations of kilted men before General Wade came engineering through the land. The so-called "Highlander's Road," used by a division of Prince Charlie's host before the '45, passed towards Inverness by a more direct route, and crossed the river by a ford two miles farther up, at a point where General Wade afterwards built the Sluggan Bridge. The old arch of Carr Bridge forms by no means the least attractive feature in the district. The country is high above sea-level, and the Dulnain at times comes down in sudden and violent flood. The whole strath is floored with water-worn stones; the pine trees, the juniper, the birches, and the heather grow on top of them; the cottages and the dykes are built of them; and here and there the great glacial river banks stand up steep and distinct. To the north-west the breezy heather-clad hills form the water-parting

between the Dulnain and the Findhorn rivers; immediately to the south lies a pine forest which stretches seven miles to Aviemore, where it merges with the larger forest of Rothiemurchus, terminating at the foot of the Cairngorm mountains.

The keen bracing air, the varied drives and walks, the fishing and the solitude, all combined to make Carr Bridge a resort to be increasingly liked; and after the first visit no other summer quarters were ever thought of. Two seasons were spent in the inn, which has now grown into a comfortable hotel, and then a cottage in course of construction was taken over, enlarged, and enlarged again, until the little house named Ardnacoille grew to be the place where Professor Calderwood was certainly to be found from early June till early October of each year. The river ran past within stone's throw; knee-deep heather fringed the high bank; and one or two lofty pines were enclosed in the ground. A grassy path through the heather was the favourite study, and letters only came once a day. Work was steadily carried on from the early morning hour till mid-day, with an occasional break for a long day's fishing to some loch or stream.

In his characteristic manner he at once took a personal interest in all the affairs of the district, and without in any way endeavouring to interfere with local customs, he speedily came to know almost every soul in the parish. The cordial hand-shake was ready for every one on the road, the sympathy and help at every fireside or sick-bed. Hardly any one stayed at Carr Bridge in those days: the people of the district were not in the habit of having any intercourse with strangers. It might even be said that the feeling towards an outsider was rather that of suspicion and

disfavour. Such a feeling is common enough in the quiet parts of the Highlands, where the old clan reserve and exclusiveness permeates to the humblest abode. Moreover, Carr Bridge was then, and is to some extent still, a home of Constitutional Free Churchism, so that the comparatively advanced views of the Edinburgh Professor, the United Presbyterian, so far as these views were known in the district, were not likely to tell in his favour. But there was no resisting the spontaneous kindliness, the genuine Christianity of the man who had settled amongst them; and by degrees people began to like him almost in spite of themselves. A native of the place remarked to him on one occasion, that a new-comer might spend a life-time in the parish of Duthil and never get to know the real feelings of the people, but that he seemed to have got to their hearts almost at once.

"No!" was the reply; "it took me two years to do it"—showing how keenly he had observed his relations with those who had become his loyal friends.

In his walks he always stopped to have a crack with those he met. He found out the interests of each, and the interests of all became his own interests. The men felling trees in the forest were honoured when "the Professor" left the path and came over to speak with them; the farmer out at his sheep on the hill was glad to see "the Professor" at a distance and to return the wave of his hand. Even old people who could scarcely speak with him, because they had not the English, felt the personality of the man; and the lonely life of many an old woman was made brighter by his kindly notice and attention. Even those whose consciences told them that they need not expect recognition were by no means disregarded.

There appeared to be no difference in the manner in which he spoke to these, and some more respectable members of the community may have thought this strange, but there was a difference in the purpose of the speaking. Sooner or later each was likely to find out that the Professor knew about him or her, and that his object was to help the return of self-respect. What wonder was it then that every one loved him? No one ever got a reproachful word. Every one felt the stimulus of his kindly grace.

In charge of the little church of the village, a Free Church, he found an old student of his own, Rev. Ewan M'Leod. A Gaelic service was held each Sunday at twelve o'clock, and was followed immediately by an English service. The Professor asked to be allowed to act as the minister's "curate" and to conduct an evening service in addition; and each summer as long as he lived he continued this service for all who cared to attend. The action was typical of the man in many ways. The position he assumed was carefully chosen so as to be subsidiary to that of the minister, and the service was in strict accordance with the habits of worship in the district. In no way did he assert his position as superior to or different from those with whom he came into contact. His Christian humility was too great, his inborn tact too acute, to allow of his acting otherwise. There was, he thought, a lack in the absence of an evening service; he could perform the duty, and he viewed it in the light of a privilege, and a possible benefit to others. His subjects were jotted down as they occurred to him, and were carefully thought over on the Sunday forenoons. The heads and a shorthand note or two were written on a piece of ordinary note-paper, but the body of the dis-

course was never committed to paper. Practice of a lifetime had enabled him, by concentration and clear logical thinking, to speak freely without any material assistance from notes. The extent of the influence exerted by these evening meetings is difficult to estimate, but it appears to have reached, as will be noticed later, to a horizon much wider than that of the parish of Duthil. The taking of the voluntary duty, by one who had come for change and rest, was in itself noteworthy, especially since it was treated always afterwards as quite binding in its application. He never allowed his private convenience to be considered as a possible excuse for omitting any service. We have already seen that even when in the interests of politics, and of his friend contesting the Northern Burghs, he was as far north as Kirkwall on a Saturday morning, he nevertheless travelled continuously, driving the last twenty-five miles of the way, to be in Carr Bridge on the Sunday in time for his evening service. It is also worthy of remark that the influence of a United Presbyterian should go forth and be felt in many remote parishes in the Highlands from a "Constitutional" Free Church district. It would appear from the statements of those who are more competent to judge than the writer, that the development of church relationship which has since transpired has received a certain stimulus in the Highlands from the labours of Professor Calderwood. We recollect that on one occasion, when the difficulties of union between the Free and United Presbyterian Churches were referred to, he replied jocularly that these difficulties had already been overcome in Carr Bridge. The application may have been wider than even he supposed. The interest which he had in the evening services was great, and

even in Edinburgh, in the course of his private devotional reading, he seems to have thought of Carr Bridge and the needs of the community there. One of the many note-books found in his study after his death was headed, "Subjects for Carr Bridge, 1898." They were never delivered.

The season in the Highlands had its varieties from work, however. Certain times found certain old friends with him. Owing to the kindness of neighbouring proprietors it was possible, more especially in the early part of the season, to make long trouting expeditions; and the presence of friends was of distinct advantage to Professor Calderwood, since he then was willing to give up whole days to relaxation. The long days of June were much taken advantage of and were thoroughly enjoyed. His brother, Mr. John Calderwood, London, on more than one occasion took a house in the neighbourhood, and spent a portion of his summer there.

One regular excursion planned early each year for Rev. Dr. Mair, Edinburgh, was to a lonely loch in Glen Eunach, eleven miles' drive from Aviemore, through the forest of Rothiemurchus. The snow-wreaths were sometimes still lying near the little deerstalkers' bothy where the horse was put up, and where the kettle was boiled as the wading-stockings were pulled off after the day's sport. Or the head-waters of the river Dulnain would be visited and a long day spent amidst the pools and streams, where the big trout were always hoped for and seldom found. On occasion a day's salmon-fishing was offered and arranged for at a distance.

During the last two or three years, however, the keenness to fish waned, and with his brother, or his old friend Rev. Dr. Black, Glasgow, the companion of his Continental walking tours, the rod was not taken out.

In the Aviemore district one or two regular visitors were always called on and expected at Ardnacoille,—Dr. Martineau and Dr. M'Laren, Manchester, were amongst those. At times some of his colleagues of the University came to see him, or Professors from other Universities, such as Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Oxford; and men from American and Australasian Universities, who happened to be in the country, sometimes turned up unexpectedly at Carr Bridge. On a fine afternoon friends drove from Grantown, and no one could tell how often the little drawing-room would be filled, or how often the host would be out in the garden showing his guests the view down the river, or the view of the Cairngorm range from the top of "the fairy hill" by the house. One warm afternoon Blackie wandered into the garden. He was often in the district. He visited several points in the garden, and sang many airs to himself, before he found himself near the house, and entered the veranda. It happened that every one was out save the writer, and as Blackie neither rang nor knocked, but entered as if on a tour of exploration, he had to be recalled from snatches of Gaelic and Greek, and from the direction of the bedrooms. He talked for some time, and then demanded paper in that sudden way of his, saying he wanted to write. Before the end of his plaid had vanished through the door into the garden, he had left the following calling card:—

I tramped the wood, in meditative mood,
And lost my way, so called on Calderwood,
And sat upon his chair, and wondered not
He wrote so wisely in so fair a spot.

J. S. BLACKIE,
6th September 1891.

More summer visitors came to Carr Bridge as the place became better known, and it was sufficiently evident to the natives of the village that in the presence of Professor Calderwood they had in some measure the secret of the attraction. When the inn was transformed into a large and comfortable hotel, more people who were total strangers came for short visits, but many stayed two months or so, and became familiar enough in that time with the man who seemed to be expected to take the lead in the place by reason of his natural power to guide.

In matters which concerned the welfare of the district his advice was ever sought, because it was valued, and because he never under any circumstances attempted to dictate. When possible he ever strove to keep himself in a secondary position, and would himself propose others as chairmen of meetings. But in this secondary place his influence was perhaps greater than it would have been otherwise.

He soon seemed to notice that the young of the district were in many respects much left to themselves, that the religion of the older people was not such as to readily attract the young, that indeed while religious training was strongly insisted upon, the younger members of the community were not supposed to come forward, or be in any way identified with the religious and social life of the district. This, he believed, induced some to fall into loose habits, or at any rate to seek their natural enjoyment by more or less clandestine methods. There was a lack of employment during the long winter evenings, and no place where all might meet together for instruction or amusement. He therefore took up the idea, already perhaps suggested, of establishing a library and reading-room, and of

having a hall where concerts could be held. Amongst the older people at that time instrumental music was deprecated—even the music of the national bagpipe was regarded by some with disfavour—but in the belief that a hall and reading-room would give a natural outlet for the resources of the people in the winter time, and make for their best interests, he introduced the proposal, and in his wide circle of friends interested in such matters he obtained considerable help. Very many in the parish took up the idea most enthusiastically, and a local Committee was formed, with Mr. Grant of Beananach as chairman. Lady Seafield, ever generous towards her tenants in all that makes for their real interests, ever loved by all in the country of the Clan Grant, at once gave an excellent site in the village and supplied all the wood for use in the building.

In the summer of 1893 the Carr Bridge Institute was opened, a singularly neat stone building designed by Mr. Robertson, Inverness. There are few but will now own that it has been a distinct boon to the neighbourhood; indeed the opening of the hall may be said to have marked a period in the social life of Carr Bridge, for even although there are times when but few people can take advantage of it, the concerts which are held each summer, the perusal of the very fairly stocked library—a department which Professor Calderwood did not neglect—and the management of the Institute in accordance with carefully supervised rules, have had their influence upon the community.

In the summer of 1897, the summer which, unhappily, was Professor Calderwood's last, the hall was the scene of the presentation of an illuminated address to him, and at the same time the presentation of a beautiful cairngorm brooch to Mrs. Calderwood. Rev.

Mr. M'Leod, who had by that time gone to Oban, having been succeeded by Rev. Mr. Morrison, was spending the summer amongst his old people, and through his instrumentality the matter was arranged and carried through. Had Professor Calderwood received any hint of the project, he would certainly have used every effort to stop it. Personal laudation was particularly distasteful to him, especially when expressed publicly. But before any knowledge of the matter came to his ears, the time for such intervention was safely past. When the ceremony took place, and he was compelled to sit on the platform while one after another spoke to this or that side of his good work and qualities, his condition was most miserable. Time after time he seemed tempted to rise and make an effort to bring matters to an end. On the way home he declared with some vigour he never had been compelled to stand such an ordeal. But he appreciated the mark of esteem most highly.

The address runs as follows :—

Reverend and dear Sir—We feel prompted by a sense of duty and the kindly feelings and sincere regard which for many years have been accumulating in our minds towards you, to put on record our feeling of obligation to you for the many disinterested services you have rendered to the people of this parish. We rejoice in the eminence and popularity to which you long since attained as a Professor in the Metropolitan University, in the distinguished service you have rendered to sound philosophy and the relations of science and religion, and in the unfaltering purpose with which you have always stood on the side of evangelical religion.

We value very highly your varied services in this community, and very especially we feel indebted to you for the Sabbath evening service which for eleven years you have conducted during the summer months in the church at Carr

Bridge. For all those services we ask you to accept our most cordial thanks, and we beg to assure you that our feelings towards you shall always be those of deep gratitude and high esteem. We pray that God may most abundantly bless you and your family, and that you and Mrs. Calderwood may be long spared to come among us and have that valued friendship prolonged which mutually we have so happily and so long enjoyed.

The genuine nature of the esteem was sufficiently evident; and after Professor Calderwood's death the sorrow of the whole district was profound—a company travelling south on purpose to attend his funeral.

In July of the following year (1898) Carr Bridge Hall was the scene of a meeting of those who wished to do honour to his memory. A beautiful black and white marble tablet had been erected by the community of Carr Bridge; and the Countess Dowager of Seafield, in appreciation of the efforts he had made for the benefit of her people, unveiled the tablet, accompanying the action with a few well-chosen and touching words. The feelings of the people in erecting this memorial may be sufficiently indicated when we state that all outside subscription towards the cost was declined.

CHAPTER XVI

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE OF LATER LIFE

Religious influence on students—Recollections by Rev. J. Oman—Influence in the Larger Church of Christ—Closing position in Synod.

No account of the ecclesiastical career and religious influence of Professor Calderwood would be complete that confined itself within denominational limits. There was a sphere beyond that, in which his work, though not so visible and manifest, was none the less real and abiding. He held a place peculiarly his own in the religious life of Scotland and in the Church of the Living God.

When he laid down his trust as a minister of the gospel and took up that of Professor of Moral Philosophy, he stated that he was looking forward to a life-work, the importance of which could not be overestimated. That expectation was not belied.

During thirty years of his professoriate, several thousands of young men passed through his classes, many of whom were destined to occupy places of great influence as teachers, advocates, clergy, literary men, and through them Calderwood appealed to a vast constituency. It is impossible to estimate how much he achieved for the Master whom he served by means of this indirect influence.

Not that he, in any way, substituted theology for philosophy, or attempted to thrust his theological views upon the students — although he sometimes pressed home the most delicate questions of practical ethics in a very direct and telling way. The system of philosophy, however, which he favoured was in entire harmony with the eternal verities of the Christian faith, and the manner in which he set it forth helped to confirm men in their respect for evangelical religion.

But beyond the power of his teaching was the influence of his personality. It could not be said that he ever, in any way, with his students obtruded into the inner privacies of personal piety. That would have been to defeat his main purpose. No class of men resent "button-holing" in religious matters more than students. His life, however, was a transparent medium, through which his religion shone in his whole demeanour and conduct—in self-restraint and courtesy, in consideration and kindness. It was reflected in the genuine interest that all knew was there, ready to be drawn upon whenever they sought counsel in any perplexity. A type of religion like that students are quick to detect and appreciate. There was at the same time a fine breezy healthiness about his religion that did not fail to attract young men. The students saw that he was interested in their athletic games, was himself possessed of love for open-air exercise, that he was ready to take part in all extra-academic movements; and they could not help admiring a piety so thoroughly human.

It was well known, also, that he remembered the members of his class long after they had left the University, would recognise them in the street, and seemed to know how they were faring in life. The extent to which he was able to follow the after career of his students, and

that not merely in the case of the most distinguished, was remarkable. One of them, who had long before passed through his class, and whom there was no reason to believe he knew well, was called to a difficult task. When he heard of it he said: "He is the right man for the place, if he put the steam on." Many of his past students came to consult him in after-life, and there was no one but felt that his counsel and aid were as gladly given as received.

A former student, a Free Church minister, referring to the religious influence of his class, writes:—

> Although never a Scripture text might be quoted, the influence of the Professor's Christianity made itself felt. It is impossible to overestimate the far-reaching benefits in the Chair of Moral Philosophy of one who is an intellectually convinced Christian. . . . Calderwood, while he refrained from substituting Christian theology for strict philosophy, strengthened religious conviction by reason of the positive character of his philosophic system. His system was idealist, intuitional, laid stress on the inviolable reality of personality, human and divine, and on the supremacy of moral truth.

Another, now a United Presbyterian minister, spoke thus of him after he was gone:—

> I owe him very much, both as a teacher and an ever kind and helpful friend; but I think that, in common with many others, I owe even more to the inspiration of his character, his unswerving devotion to principle, his fearlessness, his unwearied diligence. I do not think that there is any one now living whom I respect quite so much as I respected him.

One of the most scholarly students of his time in Edinburgh University bore this testimony to the good received from him:—

> You will allow me to express in a word my deep sense of how much I owe to him. The inspirer of my youthful thoughts, the wise counsellor in directing my studies, the

willing friend and helper of my riper years, Dr. Calderwood I shall ever regard as one of the most potent influences over my little life, on every side of it. But thousands can say the same, for my old Professor was a king among men. "We shall ne'er see his like again."

The Rev. J. Oman, of Alnwick, who was one of his distinguished students, and who, further, had the advantage of intimate acquaintance with him in after life, has favoured me with a paper, giving his recollections and impressions. Mr. Oman writes:—

The task of giving some description of Professor Calderwood and his work and influence, though it seemed so simple when I agreed to your request, has proved to have two difficulties, each great, and both together, I fear, insuperable.

The first difficulty arises from the change in myself. To recall the fourth-year student who entered the Moral Philosophy Class, and to allow for lack of knowledge and experience, is impossible. Yet one remembers how life was one vast intellectual problem, how the imagination responded with warmth to all that kindled it, how traditional opinion was in abeyance, and how the critical spirit dominated all and had no timidity in pronouncing judgment on men and things. If experience has done nothing else, it has taught me that life has many sides, and that the best-considered judgments are full of error. All I can do is to try to reproduce the past as I then understood it; and that, after all, is probably what you want; for, is it not the business of a professor just to mould that kind of material? Like every workman, his success must be tested by the manner in which he overcomes the stuff on which he operates, and were all students perfect in insight and balanced in judgment, professors would be superfluous. If, therefore, you understand that the description is based on the vision of a lad barely out of his teens, you can take it for what it is worth.

The second difficulty is still greater. During the intervening time, Professor Calderwood himself changed, and far more than is usual with men of his years. This arose partly from

external circumstances, and partly from a trait which must ever be accentuated in every account of him, his love of truth. From time to time I saw him, not as the Professor, but as a man ever ready to talk of matters intellectual, or to give the benefit of a large experience and a sound judgment on things practical. Three tasks imposed their burden upon him: he had to reconcile a larger view of human development with his very definite theory of morals; he had to reconcile a more conservative view of politics with his very decided endeavours after social progress; and, finally, he had to reconcile a mellower view of human life with a habit of mind emphatically administrative and practical. They were all parts of one process. The change in his political relations may have given the outward impulse, for, to a mind so determined and practical, to change his party could not be, as it was to many, a mere incident. His practical usefulness may have suffered by his separation from his old associates, and his clearness of aim and definiteness of practical principles certainly suffered. But his own mental and moral nature received the exact discipline it needed, the discipline of hesitation, of seeing two sides, of knowing that human progress is a slow and altogether doubtful march through the ages, and not a glorious rush of a few years of enterprising legislation. This mental discipline was forwarded by the growing emphasis with which the infinitely slow processes of Evolution were forced upon his thoughts. But mightiest of all was his own experience, teaching him patience and forbearance. Hence, those who only knew him recently, scarcely think of the warrior of his earlier days; and, having seen the growing dignity and the courtesy ever increasing in kindness of those later years, I find it difficult to go back to the time when he had little chiaroscuro either in his thought or his action. It is difficult, perhaps impossible; but, if you will remember that I can only see the past through the intervening years, you will be able to allow for the refraction and the distance.

I have spoken of his growing dignity. Most men are only dignified in public. He never put on his dignity, either in private or public; but before his class, contrary to custom, he

laid something of it aside. He was a student among students, and, to understand his success, that must not be forgotten. In those days, his students were nearly all fourth-year men; and there is, in manner and thought, at least half a lifetime between a first-year's man and a fourth. Most of them were serious and thoughtful, hasty in judgment, but ever ready to correct it on wider knowledge; and they were free from all considerations except desire to know the truth. Professor Calderwood stood up before them as one of themselves with the same aim. You had to see him on his platform to understand it. He stood straight, his shoulders squared, his head up and his eyes on his class. His gown did not serve him as it did the other professors, as a sort of nimbus to mark repose, but rather as a sort of comet's flame to mark vigour. "Here I am," his whole attitude said, "not to talk down to you from professorial heights, but a student like yourselves—one who has come by the same path and is still treading in it. I tell you what I have thought, and I wish to defend it as you defend your own convictions; and I am willing to be corrected if any of you can prove I am wrong; only, it is perfectly certain, none of you can." We all knew his opinions, not only on ethical, but religious subjects, and we were all ready enough to distrust men who seemed to be committed to traditional opinions and policies, but no man ever doubted that Professor Calderwood thought and acted according to the best light he was able to see. What all respected in him was his fundamental conviction that no opinion, no creed, no policy, should ever fear truth. To that conviction he was loyal in thought and action, and he ever assumed that every one of us would abhor any attempt to build our lives on any lie, however well sanctioned by custom or buttressed by profit. This was a matter not requiring any deep philosophy to understand, and, in consequence, no professor was more honoured by the rank and file of his class.

This first principle of the supremacy of truth made him a philosopher. His natural bent was practical, not speculative; but the moral necessity of making sure that all practical endeavours rested on this rock of truth made him turn to

philosophy, and it continued to be for him a practical not a mere speculative science. It was to him the labourer who cleared the foundations for the superstructure of religious and social progress. His philosophical and ethical system shaped itself according to this practical end; knowledge of God and of moral law he based entirely upon immediate intuition, and the practical rapidity, certainty, and sufficiency of such knowledge was guaranteed to him, not by theoretical arguments, but by the discipline of life. Having obtained his conclusion by the effective method, which may be described as *solvitur ambulando*, he was often driven to dire straits in defending it by general and philosophical reasons. The one position which he impressed on every listener, the one which puzzled many but could be forgotten by none, was that conscience could not be educated. Here we have the man of action. He may err in judgment, but he must have immutable principles. Some more carefulness in distinction would have saved much misunderstanding. Conscience, as he used the word, was an intuitive perception of general moral principles; these, he conceived, were applied by moral judgment to particular cases, and received their impulse by being associated with the moral sentiments. Judgment alone could err; moral sentiments could be perverted; conscience, the faculty of insight into first principles of morals, might be in abeyance, but it could not err: it was a faculty of sight. But even with his own analysis of the moral process, this position was not as clearly defined as it might be. Had he said "Conscience cannot be instructed," his meaning would have been clearer. Even sight can be trained, but no man can teach me what I ought to see. If my sight is healthy, I have reached the ultimate ground of appeal, and no instruction can improve upon it. Yet this faculty is capable of endless development; and though in a sense it cannot err, its untrained perceptions may be so limited as to have all the effect of error.

The man of action, the born administrator, is apparent in the whole attitude. The general instincts of right, which guide entirely one-half the human race and the majority of the other half, never presented themselves before him as

subject to real doubt. His sole ideal of the moral man was a man who applied clear principles with unbiassed judgment to life and action, while his well-regulated sentiments sat ever ready, like judges, to carry out the verdict. And he had the best reason for this conception, seeing that he actually followed it—his whole nature being ever a court of justice in perpetual session.

One error he was incapable of: he could not have propounded any theory of morals without the certainty needed against life's perplexities, the largeness against life's pettiness, the nobleness against life's baseness. The speculation that forgets how man must strive and aspire if he is to live nobly, was impossible to one whose whole thought was: "How is man to be made to see with the divine insight which is in him, and realise in his own action the eternal decrees?" This system did not satisfy all minds. The best students especially saw that this analysis left the supremely difficult question of how the faculties ever came to be together, the supremely difficult question of their unity and harmony untouched, and a great deal besides; but none went away without some confirmation of moral principle, and none went away with the notion that life could be well spent in spinning cobwebs of the brain. No man could afterwards avoid facing the question whether or not there were behind this visible garment of the Deity, eternal, vital, immutable principles; and if he rejected the position, he did it with his eyes open.

He was not content merely to read lectures. He dared not only to examine orally, but to discuss and invite questions. Once or twice the class was resolved into a debating society, but always with the utmost propriety and order. He enjoyed the conflict with young minds, and often succumbed to the influence of debate so far as to answer subtlety by subtlety, —occasionally even quibble by quibble. Again, we were not always satisfied, but our minds were stimulated; and the Professor never came out of this situation, so impossible for most men, without having gained in our respect.

On such occasions a special talent he possessed for remembering faces did him unfailing service. If any student tended to presume too far, a thing which scarcely ever

happened, he would at once address him like another student by his name, and his tone and attitude would say: "Now, Smith, let us look at this like philosophers and gentlemen"; and straightway Smith rose to the height of the requirement. Long years after, he would come across Smith in Princes Street. Stopping at once and holding out his hand, he would say: "Dear me, Smith, you are so altered, I hardly knew you. How are things going with you in Benbecula, or Gatehouse-of-Fleet?" or wherever Smith's lot had been cast.

This royal gift of recognising men rested on the profound interest he took in his students, and is another proof of how the administrator was ever uppermost, even in the conduct of his class. Year by year, from 150 to 200 students passed through his class. Looking into the future, he saw those lads settled in every village of Scotland and scattered through the length and breadth of the world. Most of them would belong to the professions, and no class ended without an earnest word on professional ideals: and what he said on such occasions about the doctor's healing art, the lawyer's care of justice, the teacher's training of the mind, the minister of religion's care for sacred things, were not passing thoughts, but ideas which deeply moved him and inspired all his teaching and all his interest in his students. He felt that the task of impressing minds, who might afterwards influence large sections of the community, was a vast opportunity. One thing he was resolved upon, that he would do what in him lay to aid in providing the supreme requirement for every office of responsibility, the unbending sense of duty.

In the advanced class, the contact of mind with mind was of the highest value; and few left it without a profounder regard for the Professor; and this was a better mood for the young philosopher than entire acquiescence in every utterance of his teacher. Professor Calderwood's whole attitude said: "I neither expect nor desire entire agreement with all I say, but I look for honest investigation, calm judgment, and high principle." And he generally received what he asked, with abundant difference of opinion into the bargain. His students did not wear his hall-mark, like the students of another well-known teacher of the same subject. You did not say, "What

an amazing genius!" when you met the first and heard him systematise the universe and utter the profoundest sayings about men and things; but you also did not say, when you had met half a dozen of them: "How marvellously they are cast in the same mould!"

I might also speak of the interest he took in the general life of the University, but no one who knew anything about him could imagine him anywhere without being active in every enterprise for promoting the well-being of the community among which he lived. If this side of his nature has not been made prominent, you will have written about him in vain.

From the nature of the case, his relations to his old students cannot be given in detail; but there are men in every corner of the British Empire who cherish a promise given, either by word or letter, that he was ready, either by writing or personal recommendation, to forward their interests; and they cherish it because they know that, so long as they remained worthy of trust and he was able to hold a pen or walk a mile, the promise would at any cost have been redeemed.

Yet, with all his zeal to help his students, he was extremely conscientious even in the most informal word of commendation. An incident which I am permitted to relate will throw some light upon the inflexible fidelity with which he exalted public interests above private considerations even of a most personal nature. Though he had the highest sense of the value of men, and considered he could do no better work than in helping a young man of ability and character to the work in which he would have the widest influence for good, he set still higher store by the truth, as he was able to conceive it, and principle, as he was able to judge of it.

In this particular case, the young man was not only a student who, by diligence and ability, had taken a good position in the class, but he was the son of one of his oldest and dearest friends. He had entered the ministry, and was a candidate for an ecclesiastical appointment to be made by a Committee, of which Professor Calderwood was a member.

As the Committee were practically unanimous, Professor Calderwood needed only to have taken no part in the discussion to have rendered the appointment secure; but that was not how he conceived his duty. The young man's teaching, particularly on the Atonement, seemed to him defective. This opinion he stated before the Committee, and, though they did not agree with him, he obeyed his own conscience and proposed that he should not be appointed. This being done, he did what nineteen men out of twenty would have done before, he wrote his old student, told him what he had done, and made an appointment to meet him. To understand that action is to understand the man. He would do nothing in a public election to subject himself to private influence. His student had had the same opportunity of expressing himself as others, and by his public utterance he must be judged. That he might obtain some kind of concession by friendly remonstrance, which would save himself the painful duty of opposing the election of a friend, was a consideration which would not have entered his mind; and in this he acted as he would have wished to be done by; for he would have hated to be called upon to discuss his opinion with a material bribe behind the intellectual and spiritual justification for altering it. Only after such a consideration was removed, did he feel himself free to enter on what he would consider a more important question, his students' attitude towards religious truth. In this also he showed his knowledge of young men. The candidate, who would have been bitterly pained at any suggestion that he should alter his opinion to obtain a vote, responded heartily when asked simply to look once more at a truth; told the Professor all his thoughts on the subject, and showed that he had come to no opinion without much thought and much reading. Like students, they went a walk, and like students they discussed; and the elder was not afraid to confess his perplexities to the younger, and to say that, as he had gone on in life, many of his views had modified, and that, in many things, he was ending where his friend was beginning; and the walk closed with an earnest exhortation to the young man to seek for light in the path he had been pursuing, and by

no means, for intellectual difficulties which no thoughtful man could shun, to withdraw his services from the Church.

And if that appointment had been to be made again, he would in all probability have acted as before; for was it not the candidate's business to seek truth apart from all material considerations, and was it not his business, apart from all considerations of friendship, to judge whether he was so far advanced in this quest as to be the best and most helpful teacher of the Christian people? There you have the man! Somewhat rigidly, it may be, he applied the Categorical Imperative; but no man was ever more willing to be tried by the same rule as he applied to others; and what is strange is, that this severe spirit of obedience really made him kinder and more helpful to others than would have been possible with a laxer rule.

In the general religious life of Edinburgh, Professor Calderwood exercised also a wide influence. When Moody and Sankey first came to Edinburgh, he gave them hearty sympathy and support, and that at a time when a large number of Christian people were inclined to look askance both at them and their work. He frequently appeared at their meetings, and on more than one occasion gave an address to young converts.

In the remarkable religious movement, which started ten years later amongst the students of Edinburgh University, and in which the late Professor Henry Drummond was the leading figure, Dr. Calderwood took a deep and living interest. How much the success of this movement, which far exceeded anything that took place in any other university, was due to the sympathetic interest of the Edinburgh professors, it is impossible to say; but it was at least a striking coincidence that an unusual proportion of them were in thorough sympathy with such work.

Just as the tide of religious interest was rising, we

read that "the Arts Students' Prayer Meeting also set out with much vigour, aided by a stimulating address from Professor Calderwood." Professor Drummond's meetings were usually held on Sunday evenings, and as Dr. Calderwood for many years conducted service at the same hour, he was unable to be present; but, whenever and wherever possible, he gave his countenance and help. He often referred with manifest pleasure to the great results which were achieved through these efforts.

In the congregation of Morningside his services were invaluable. During its early years of struggle and difficulty, his unselfish and unwearied assistance proved of vital importance. After Dr. Mair, the present pastor, was inducted to the charge in 1873, a warm friendship sprang up between the two men. On Saturday afternoons, during winter and spring, they were accustomed to have long walks together.

On these occasions (writes Dr. Mair) the Professor was wont not merely to talk of the affairs of the Church, and discuss books or the questions of the day, but, on principle, guarded against absorption in such conversation, and was always ready to stop and admire some new or beautiful view that presented itself—a picturesque shadow in the hillside, or a streak of sunshine breaking through the clouds. He still continued to take the deepest interest in the welfare of the congregation, assisting it by his personal influence, his counsel, his liberality and activity. In every movement connected with it, he took a foremost part. When its members had increased to such a number that the original buildings no longer afforded sufficient accommodation for them and their Christian work, he was a leading spirit in moving for the erection of a new church, and he was called upon to have the honour of laying the foundation stone on Saturday 28th February 1880. In performing this function, he spoke of the circumstances that had happily given rise to

the need for a new church, of the recent increase of United Presbyterian Churches in the city, of the special significance and past history of the United Presbyterian Church in the country, its present condition and development, and concluded very characteristically with a warm expression of brotherly feeling towards all other evangelical churches.

Professor Calderwood carried on Sabbath evening services in the church for many years during the winter, until the all but universal adoption of evening services by the churches in the neighbourhood made this no longer necessary. He was invited from time to time to officiate in the pulpit on special occasions, the last being at the anniversary of the opening of the Church on the second Sabbath of October 1896. He was always sure to be present, and, if required, to take an active part in all business, social, missionary, and other meetings connected with the congregation and its societies; and his geniality, wisdom, and power of adaptation greatly contributed to the success of the different meetings.

During the twenty-seven years that he held office as an elder, he never allowed his manifold labours to prevent his discharging its duties with the utmost fidelity. He regularly visited his district, and made himself acquainted with all the members and young people under his charge. He was faithful and kindly in administering counsel, and took a warm and fatherly interest in all his young communicants. He was possessed of a deeply sympathetic nature, with the consequent gift of consolation in a rare degree, and he used these endowments in the most unwearied manner for the good of the suffering and sorrowing in his own district, and even far beyond its limits. To many a home and heart under the shadow of trial, his visits were like beams of summer sunshine, carrying with them comfort and sustaining grace.

During the summer holiday time he almost invariably conducted an evening service wherever he happened to be. On these occasions, the question of denomination was never regarded. He gave his services to whatever section of the Church of Christ was represented in

the neighbourhood. For several seasons he regularly conducted Sabbath evening service in the "Convalescent Homes" at Kilmun—a labour of love that was highly appreciated by the humble guests as well as by many visitors to the district.

One summer, at St. Catherine's on Loch Fyne, the people, after having enjoyed his services for two months, presented him with a fishing-rod, a Highland plaid, and a scarf-pin, together with a Highland plaid for Mrs. Calderwood.

In reply to the letter intimating the presents, he thus expresses appreciation of the kindness of the people :—

October 1877.

To Mr. John Luke and Friends.

My dear Friends—I have been taken quite by surprise to-day by the arrival of Miss Paterson with most handsome gifts from you who have attended the Sabbath Evening Meetings during our stay amongst you. It had never occurred to me that you would think of any such thing as this, else I fear I would have pled with you to give up your most kind and generous intentions. Now that the gifts have come into my hands, I accept them very gladly, and with a very happy conviction that you had all felt interested in these times for divine worship and the study of God's Book.

Mrs. Calderwood accepts her plaid with great pleasure, and thinks it quite a beauty. I am delighted with my plaid and silver pin and fishing-rod. The gifts are well chosen, and will be prized by us as fitting memorials of the countryside where we, our children, and our friends have spent a most happy summer holiday.

To me, it was a most pleasant exercise to meet you on the Sabbath evenings and discourse to willing listeners of the mercy and love of God in Jesus. It cheered me much, as I grew familiar with your faces, to see that those who began continued to attend. I hope there may be lasting good to us

all, and that the interest in one another felt now may extend into eternity. Mrs. Calderwood and I will always regard these gifts as valued memorials of St. Catherine's, and of all the friends along the shore and up the hillsides. Our prayer is that God's rich blessing may descend upon you all, in your homes, and upon your gatherings in the school-house, when any servant of the Master preaches the glorious gospel of peace.

The Carr Bridge life has been referred to elsewhere, but one aspect of it may be specially noted here. A Highland minister, not himself favourable to union with the United Presbyterian Church, once made the remark that, if the Highlanders of Central Scotland ever agreed to that union, it would be owing to Dr. Calderwood's influence. From the time of the great Voluntary controversy, in which Chalmers played such a conspicuous part, the Free Church people of the Highlands, including many of the ministers, could not get rid of the idea that Voluntaryism was closely allied with Atheism. The late Dr. James Brown of Paisley used to tell a story of a visit to Skye, when the good-man of the house, an elder in the Free Church, asked him to officiate on Sunday. "But," replied Brown, "you would scarcely ask me to preach if you knew that I was a United Presbyterian!" "Ah!" the elder replied, "that is all right; if you had been a *U.P.* it would have been a very different matter!" It was only under the guise of U.P. that he recognised the Voluntary.

That is a fair indication of the spirit which, not very long ago, animated the great majority of the Free Church people in the Highlands, and it was the rock upon which the Union negotiations of 1863-73 split.

Here, however, in the heart of the Highlands, amid

a Free Church community, was a "Voluntary" preaching the gospel of Christ with a warmth and fervour not excelled by their own ministers, giving himself in a remarkable degree for the good of the community,—visiting their sick, interesting himself in their children, their young men and women, devising and suggesting new schemes for the social, moral, and intellectual improvement of the village; and ten years' study of that living practical illustration of the soundness in faith and earnest piety of the United Presbyterian Church, made an impression, not upon the immediate neighbourhood only, but throughout the whole of the Central Highlands. Notwithstanding the many eloquent speeches and varied labours with which Dr. Calderwood helped the cause of Union, perhaps the greatest service he rendered that cause which he had so much at heart, was to go and live at Carr Bridge.

We have already referred to his altered position in Synod after 1886, and a certain temporary weakening of his hold upon the United Presbyterian Church as a whole. It may be safely said, however, that there was a steady growth throughout life in his influence upon that greater community, the Church of Christ. His growing capacity in appreciating the standpoint of other Churches, his accumulated labours on behalf of the welfare of Scotland, his manifest desire to see union and peace accomplished amongst all sections of Christ's people, gave him, latterly, a unique place in the religious life of the country.

He lost much by his change from the simpler standpoint of early days; but in the widespread esteem of the best and most thoughtful men in all the Churches, he gained more than he lost. A thoughtful and discriminating appreciation of his work in that

respect, by a United Presbyterian minister who was a former student, may be given here :—

By the wider public, perhaps, his worth was never fully known ; for though he led nobly in many movements, he was, perhaps, not fitted altogether for popular leadership. He had all the personal magnetism, the attractiveness, the power, that a leader of men must have, with a persuasiveness and charm of speech which one has rarely indeed heard equalled. But he was too broad-minded, too tolerant, because too wide-visioned, ever to draw the narrower-visioned crowd to follow him confidently. Yet there have been few men whose singularly calm and temperate judgment and manly courage were better worthy of being followed. He was no truckler to common opinion or popular prejudice. He was always a loyal and single-hearted servant of the truth as it revealed itself to him. So, in many a good cause, he laboured with an unselfish zeal that never slackened, though the line he followed exposed him to frequent misjudgments and misrepresentations from those who should have judged him more generously. For these things he probably cared little ; or, if he cared much, he cared still more for what he believed to be his duty, what he thought to be right, and was always resolute to follow that "in the scorn of consequence." Others might change their colours and their cause. Many differed from him, and differed strongly, on many public questions ; but he never suffered hostility to sway or change his judgment, or even to silence him. One remembers with a thrill of admiration how one has seen him more than once face a great assembly, which he knew to be utterly out of sympathy with him on questions that lay very near to his heart, yet never falter an instant, nor, to win applause, abate one jot of his convictions, or shrink from giving them firm and full and fearless utterance. And to-day, even the most vehement of his opponents will pay warm tribute to his high conscientiousness, and the lofty and unsullied purity of his purpose, and will join his friends in their profound sorrow for his loss. A man so good, so gifted, so earnest, so brave, cannot but leave a great blank behind. But he leaves a

great example, too, of courage and devotedness, but more than all, of the beauty and the power that an earnest faith can give to life. No one could look at that noble face, out of which the clear, pure spirit looked and spoke of the serenity that reigned within, without knowing that his life at its centre rested upon the calming faith of Christ. This was the strength of his whole life—a steadfast faith in the living word of God.

Towards the close of life there was theologically, as well as in other directions, a growing breadth and tolerance. An interesting contribution with which I have been favoured by Rev. D. S. Cairns, of Ayton, besides giving some earlier recollections, sufficiently brings out this point. Mr. Cairns writes :—

AYTON, *19th April* 1900.

MY DEAR WOODSIDE—I fear that any reminiscences that I can give you of Dr. Calderwood will be somewhat too late in the day to be of any use to you for the Biography, but they may be at least of some little interest to Mrs. Woodside and yourself; and so I shall simply write down a few of my recollections of him.

My first distinct reminiscence is of his coming to special services at Stitchell. I have not got his book on *Mind and Brain* (1st edition), which contains a reference to that visit, beside me; but its date fixes approximately the time. I was then learning to fish with more zeal than fortune; and this at once formed a bond of sympathy between us. At his request my tackle was brought out for inspection,—a primitive yellow rod in three pieces, a small reel and line, a scantily furnished hook-book and a satchel. Straightway we set off for Kelso, which lies some four miles off, where, in the tackle-shop, I stood astonished at his extravagance (the shop was that of Mr. Wright, in the Horse Market); and with a new white basket, a bright brass reel, and a lavish furnishing of gut and hooks, I returned homeward with my new friend, on whom I looked with reverence as a friend of my father; a Professor; the Chairman of the Metropolitan School Board;

and now as a man who knew what fishing was. We spent part of that afternoon in soaking the gut, in digging for bait, and in teaching and learning the art of making up a cast; and, as dusk fell, sallied forth to the haughs above Stitchel Linn, where, alas, we spent two or three futile hours; and at last, with empty hands but abundant explanations, returned cheerfully homewards to the Manse.

The next day, I think, was the Sabbath; but I have no distinct memories of it, except of Dr. Calderwood's gray head above the old green-baize covered, yellow pulpit, and his clear, level voice ringing in the dusk of the old church. We had made a covenant to be up betimes next morning, and between three and four o'clock I was aroused from slumber in the scientific manner which he has described in *Mind and Brain*. Oddly enough, one of my most vivid recollections of him still, is of him standing—how shall I express it?—in very scanty raiment, calmly benevolent, at the foot of the bed in the gray morning twilight. Soon we were afoot (I had never in my life been so early astir), passed through the sleeping village, down by the old whinstone quarry, and across the fields, flashing with dew, and, leaving the Linn thundering in the woods on the right, struck up across the haughs again, eager and expectant. But, alas, the waters were shrunken and clear, and the trout very much on the alert. I remember them as they fled like black shuttles right and left before the Professor; and we made nothing of it again. But he would not be beaten, and, changing our tackle, we turned back, plunged down into the deep circular wooded basin of the Linn, crawled along the wet, narrow ledge facing the thundering fall, and there, after very nearly coming to grief in the deep black pool, he had better fortune, and we returned home again, wet and hungry, but reasonably happy. To my grief he went off that day.

I next saw him at Craigrowan, and from time to time heard him speak at public meetings; and later, when I came to College, met him often about the University, and occasionally at his house. One could count upon seeing him at a given minute crossing the Meadows, and turning up the middle Meadow Walk at a rapid, even pace,—a square-built, business-

like, efficient figure, who had no intention of being either too late or too early, and would do exactly what he meant to do, and say what he meant to say.

Later, I entered his class; but of the work there I need say little, as no doubt others have described it. . . . I shall only say that I profited more by his class than by almost any other, on account of the order and system that prevailed in it. The very fact that one might differ widely from him was, by his teaching ability, turned to advantage. One could always be sure that one's work would be carefully examined and fairly valued, and a red-ink estimate made of it, that attested the fact. But Dr. Calderwood in his class was even more a moral than an intellectual force. We knew that he was a tireless worker, that he lived to do what he believed to be his duty, and to speak the truth: that he would do his utmost to be simply just; that he had no taint of snobbery, and that he was without fear. Hence, I am very sure that his class, as a whole, had a much greater respect for him than they had for other teachers, who had more reach and flexibility and imagination. He was a strong, manly figure, somewhat rigid and unimaginative, and apt, therefore, to be occasionally external in his criticisms, but having the far rarer gifts of candour, single-mindedness, industry, and, as one who knew him well has said, "downright courage." That was the man as his students saw him. It needed a fuller acquaintance to do justice to the humanity and generosity that lay behind the militant aspects of his character, but in my earlier recollections I had the key to these. I should say he had naturally a very high temper, though I have only once or twice seen it get out of hand, and then but for a moment. As a rule, it was controlled by a vigilant conscience and a masterful will. No word of irritation escaped him, and only a metallic ring in his voice, or darkness gathering on his brow, showed that anything was wrong.

After I left the University, I came in contact with him again in the Theological Hall under circumstances with which you are, of course, familiar. At that time, owing to recent agitations, the discipline of the Hall had become considerably relaxed, and, coming as he did from the more strenuous world

of the University, he came ere long into collision with two of his classes. The results of an examination were unsatisfactory, and he roundly said so in the most candid terms. Unfortunately, while the sermon was a good one, the text was not; for, in this particular case, the poor display which the classes had made was in part due to a misunderstanding, for which they were not responsible. This was stated to him by the Censor; and, as was his wont, he invited them to state publicly any ground of complaint. Time failing for the full presentation of the students' case, he appointed an hour that afternoon when he would hear in full all that they had to say, and departed unmoved for the University. Meantime, there was great indignation in the classes; and, when the hour came, some sixty men were assembled to protest against the injustice that, as they believed, had been done them. Punctually to the minute the Professor came in, pallid and rigid, and opened the discussion with a "Now, gentlemen!" For nearly an hour, man after man rose to give explanations and remonstrate, while Calderwood in reply stated the grounds for his general judgment of the work of the class, as distinct from the special work of the examination. I do not remember all the details of the hour's debate, but, if I may use a colloquialism, the class did not get much change out of the Professor, and the proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to him for his courtesy in hearing the case for the defence. . . .

After this, I was less in Edinburgh, and only saw him on rare occasions until Tuesday, October 12, 1897, when, being in Edinburgh, I called at Craigrowan. I found him just in from his opening lecture, and disposed to rest and talk, and had a long and interesting conversation with him. He was then preparing his volume on "Hume" in the "Famous Scots" series, and had been at Chirnside, hunting for details of the Ninewells period in Hume's life. In re-reading Hume, he said he had been much impressed by the earnestness of the Dialogues on Religion, and had found that, in the development of the sceptical and religious elements in Hume's nature, the latter progressively gained on the former. We passed on to talk of the deeper religious questions, and it

seemed to me that in matters of theology he had become much more liberal than I had always understood him to be. On eschatological questions, my notes of the talk indicate that he thought that great uncertainty hung over the question of the duration of Future Punishment; and that, while he abjured all dogmatic Universalism, he believed that we could only be absolutely sure of the principles of the Divine Judgment, and had no clear light as to the final impenitence of any, the ultimate issues being wrapped in insoluble mystery.

The talk then turned on the effect which biblical criticism must have upon faith. I quoted Francis de Pressensé's statement, that criticism had destroyed the old basis of Protestantism, the authority of the Bible, and had flung believing minds back on the authority of the Church. He said he could not understand how that writer did not see that similar exercise of the Reason disintegrated the authority of the Church even more than it did that of the authority of the Bible.

He went on to say that, whereas in the past there had been two great historical theories of the seat of authority in matters of religion, the Church and the Bible, he believed that in future the final authority would be recognised to be that of Christ Himself. He said that he had been talking some time before with a distinguished representative of the newer criticism, and had put to him the question: "What negative effect has all this on your faith in Christ?" The answer was: "None whatever"; and with this I understood that he quite agreed. The talk then turned mainly on personal and family matters: he spoke of Dr. John Brown of Broughton Place Church, who had been his minister in youth; and recalled the fact that, when Dr. Brown's child died, he on the same day preached the memorial sermon; and, although he might have escaped the necessity, argued that it was his duty to bear witness, and so, as David did in like case, "came into the house of the Lord and worshipped." This led Dr. Calderwood to speak of the old Scottish way of looking upon death, and its austere and mournful submission to it as the penalty of sin; and to say that, for himself, he

thought that this put undue emphasis upon death: that, in the Christian view, other things were more important than death; that, indeed, it was comparatively unimportant in the experience of a Christian man. The near event of his own departure has given a strange significance to what he then said, for it was the last time that I saw him.

I thought that he had aged a good deal, and he complained of sciatica, if indeed he could rightly be said to complain of anything; but, throughout the whole talk, he showed great animation and interest, and seemed to have yet years of active work before him. But in little more than a month after, he was gone, and with him how much of the past! I note that my father said, after his death, that he had not one unpleasant memory of him in all the fifty years of their friendship. I cannot, of course, cover more than half of that time, and I had nothing like the intimate relations with him that my father had; but I thought, and think, him a noble man; brave, resolute, kind, generous, and sincere, who "feared God too well to have any other fear," and who never spared himself either in work or in conflict for the good of others.

I wish that I had been able to draw a more vivid picture of my conception of him, but, such as it is, I send it. I have understated my own feeling about him rather than the reverse; but you will do him fuller justice.—I am, my dear Woodside, very truly yours, D. S. CAIRNS.

During the last year or two of his life, Dr. Calderwood was steadily regaining his old position in the Synod. The court was once more beginning to look to him for guidance in a difficult situation. Upon many important questions of ecclesiastical policy he still had the great majority of the members against him; but the sting of the opposition was less keen. Misunderstanding was fast passing away, and the Church, notwithstanding differences of opinion, was showing that she fully appreciated one of her most loyal sons.

"I remember," writes one of the members, "a casual remark made by a neighbour sitting beside me in last Synod, during a debate in which Dr. Calderwood had the majority against him, but the sympathy of nearly all. I had made some rather angry protest against an unfair criticism which another had just made upon him, and my neighbour said: 'We all love Calderwood, though we cannot agree with him.'"

The last Synod at which he was present was the Jubilee Year of the United Presbyterian Church; and, in connection with the celebrations, he spoke eloquently upon "the contribution of the United Presbyterian Church to social and national progress." In the same year, 1897, negotiations were definitely entered upon with a view to an incorporating union with the Free Church, and he was once more elected a member of the Union Committee. A year previously, when the first step was taken in this movement, he suggested that the Synod should also seek to approach the General Assembly of the Established Church. Yet he declared that, while he desired a larger union, he would gladly accept that of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches as an important step towards that result. Had he lived he would undoubtedly have wrought with all his old energy for the achievement of this twofold union, believing that it would yet issue in one larger and more complete. He was never able, however, to attend any of its meetings, and ere the negotiations had well begun, his eyes were closed in death.

At the Synod of 1898 the Moderator thus referred to the loss sustained by the Church in his death:—

With unmingled sorrow we think of Professor Calderwood —noble by nature, still nobler by grace, staunch to his con-

victions, unflinching in his obedience to duty, self-restrained amid unworthy provocations, manly in all things, gentle as a child, and chivalrous as an ideal Christian knight. His life of consecration, alike in academical and ecclesiastical and social spheres, a life of unbroken activity as it was, is a precious heritage abiding with us who remain.

The Synod unanimously adopted a minute expressive of its sense of loss in his death. It was read amid the hushed stillness of the large House, all the members rising to their feet; and contained the following words:—

He was a regular attender of this Court, and took a warm interest and prominent part in its proceedings, greatly aiding its deliberations and decisions by his wise counsel, well-balanced judgment, and the calm, clear, and forcible expression of his opinions. To the last he was a loyal, devoted, and honoured son of the Church. His high Christian character, thorough conscientiousness, large-heartedness, readiness to oblige, and unfailing courtesy, combined with fearlessness in stating and acting on his convictions of truth and duty, and in his advocacy of temperance and other public questions,—these and other eminent personal qualities endeared him in a very high degree not only to the Synod, but to all who knew him. His presence was an inspiration to those who came into contact with him, and his influence for good was wide and deep.

Thus, in the place where he had achieved many triumphs, and latterly suffered many defeats, in the highest Court of the Church for which he had laboured with strong affection, unwearied diligence, and unselfish abandon, there was accorded to him a full and loving recognition of all that he had done for the Church of his fathers. In the pulpits of every evangelical denomination throughout Scotland, and far beyond, there were

expressions of appreciation of the labours of one who, although a loyal United Presbyterian, had, in the first place, been a true servant of Christ and a faithful labourer for the well-being of the One, Indivisible, Holy, Catholic Church.

CHAPTER XVII

A LAST VISIT TO PEEBLES—THE END

Overwork in 1897—Illness—Commencement of winter's work—Return to scenes of boyhood—The end.

WE have already seen that when the close of the University session came, in the spring of 1897, Professor Calderwood was considerably run down through overwork. Unfortunately a number of matters in which he was specially involved seemed to demand his attention, so that relaxation could only be sought in variety of work, not in the amount of it. He had often in his life faced this condition before, but he was now sixty-seven years of age, and these prolonged efforts wore him down to a level of health at which recuperation of bodily force was slower. The most important subject which had to be attended to was that of Threefold Option. Even before the close of his session he had been addressing meetings at some of the more important towns in the valley of Tweed. Subsequently, he was up in London canvassing the opinions of Scottish members on the subject, or again giving evidence before the meeting of Scottish members which was arranged to discuss the proposal. In the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church he had to defend the cause in the

face of a hostile majority, and even against personal attack of a most unusual kind. The writer has seen him frequently in crowded political meetings, when his fighting spirit was called out in honest frontal attack, and has admired his rousing strength ; but perhaps the quiet gentlemanly courage of that last prominent night in the Synod was still more admirable. He declined to notice the highly personal element which had been permitted to enter into the debate, but which met from others the censure it seemed to deserve, confining himself solely to the elucidation of certain misconceptions with regard to the proposals of Threefold Option, knowing full well that a vote on the subject would have been worse than useless for his cause. The dignified self-repression and genuine benignity were marked by many that night. Perhaps none but a Christian of great experience could have attained the same high level of conduct.

Before going for his usual holiday to Carr Bridge he was attacked with sciatica. For two or three weeks after going north he suffered severely, and when he ultimately was able to go about again, his walks were short, and he could not attempt to fish or take any of his wonted expeditions. A more serious symptom appeared also when he did try to exert himself even in this modified way. He was subject to distressing breathlessness when trying to ascend even a slight rise, to palpitation, and to signs of internal disorder. He never spoke of these difficulties, and on re-entering the house after a short walk would take up his paper and pen or his book as usual ; but four months' change in Strathspey seemed to fail on this occasion to restore and invigorate as it had always previously done.

He returned to Edinburgh and recommenced his

class work with almost his usual amount of cheerfulness, however. But he admitted his bad health so far as to agree, after some persuasion, to be examined by a leading Edinburgh physician. It transpired afterwards that he learned from the doctor he might be prepared to find difficulty in lecturing to his class; that the moment he did so, he was to stop all attempt at such work, and that the doctor would be willing at any time to give him á certificate to the effect that he was unable to discharge his University duty. Nothing of all this was mentioned at home; he did not wish to alarm any one, and he did not find difficulty in lecturing to his class. The doctor had, however, found his heart in a very unsatisfactory state, and had been surprised that it was possible for him to carry on his work as he was then doing. The condition was such that the unexpected might happen at any moment, while with rest and freedom from excitement a moderate state of health might be retained for years. In his own account of the doctor's examination he spoke of his condition in a general way, and diverted his hearer's attention by many references to the interesting series of portraits he had noticed in the doctor's house. We can imagine him remarking the portraits in the doctor's rooms in order that he might speak about them when he returned home, and so distract attention from himself. The doctor had practically told him that his heart was worn out.

When he had worked for three weeks he went to Peebles to fulfil an engagement to preach in connection with the jubilee of the United Presbyterian churches of his native town. An effort was made to prevent his going, but the engagement was one of long standing, and the occasion of very special interest to all con-

cerned; perhaps, too, he viewed it as his last chance of visiting Peebles, and of seeing the neighbourhood of so many associations. It certainly appears now that a peculiar and pathetic interest is attached to this last journey out of Edinburgh. The term of his earthly life was nearly completed; his hard-run race was nearly done. What then more fitting than before he gained his rest and reward he should look back for a moment upon the starting-point, and trace the varied steps of his onward course.

The Rev. Mr. Currie, from whose pulpit he delivered his last sermon on this memorable occasion, related subsequently how they walked on the Saturday to many favourite spots, and of the deep, almost sacred, interest which his guest did not seek to hide. Mr. Currie's account has a simple beauty which seems to touch reverently the pure harmony of the incident. We dare not alter a word of it, for we can see the old Peebles boy now at the close of his days as he wanders round the once familiar scene. His hair is silvered; he has gone through much strife and sorrow. Honour and renown have come to him, though he sought them not. Many and great have been the services which he has humbly rendered to his country, and for which he has never thought of reward. He has done his duty as a Christian and a man, and his joy has been the doing of it. Now at length he feels he has completed his task, and he comes to gaze once more upon the scenes of his boyhood. His heart has lost none of its constancy. He loves the old haunts still. The scene is full of tenderness and pathos. "When he came within sight of Tweedbridge and Cademuir he said: 'It is such a delight to come back to the hills of one's youth'; and for two hours he wandered round the outskirts,

reviving memories of the olden times. . . . In the afternoon he said: 'I want to visit the churchyard, to see the graves of my people.' I can see him now, standing with bared head, reading the names that are inscribed upon the tombstones. . . . Then when he had finished, 'Take me,' he said, 'to Professor Veitch's grave.' On the stone he read: 'John Veitch.' There was a cross of fresh flowers lying. It had been laid there that day by loving hands. He stood and repeated it once and again: 'John Veitch! John Veitch! How simple! But death simplifies all things. Now I want to see the autumn tints on the Neidpath woods,' he said, and thither we went, he resting several times on the brae to take a breath. At the top he looked long at the golden hues of the dying foliage, but not a word did he speak."

During next week the Moral Philosophy class was conducted by him at the cost of much suffering. He did not actually suffer while lecturing, a fact which surprised the doctor, even allowing for his marked facility in speaking; but he suffered after each lecture from attacks of angina pectoris. These attacks were at first comparatively slight, although he appeared to be glad enough to take the doctor's advice and drive rather than walk to and from the University. He pegged away with his work, however, as if anxious to get through as much as possible before he should be compelled to lay up. He had, during his four months at Carr Bridge, been working at the short biography of David Hume, for the Famous Scots Series—a work in which he took a great interest. His spare time was still employed in reading and writing for this work.

On the Friday of the sixth week of the session, or

three weeks after he had been at Peebles, an attack of angina caused him to drive home in an extreme of agony. This naturally caused alarm, and the family doctor was rapidly summoned. After dinner, the doctor being desirous of making a thorough examination of the case, the sufferer went to bed ; and although subsequent attacks seized him, none was perhaps so severe as that he endured while being driven home from what proved to be his last lecture. Poor George, the coachman, had been terribly struck with his master's appearance when he descended from his class-room to the quadrangle where the carriage awaited him. He never drove his master again.

The doctor's examination did not lead him to take a serious view of the case. His anticipation was that in a few days the acute symptoms would pass, and that with complete rest and proper treatment a fair state of health might again be attained. On the Wednesday, however, he did not conceal the fact from the writer that all hope of his father's returning to University duty was over, yet his statements induced the belief that a more or less precarious state of health might be attained to and would probably last for several years.

Professor Calderwood's sister on hearing of the illness had at once come from Biggar to give her valuable help in the sick-room ; but it was not thought necessary to ask his brother to come from London.

All through the earlier part of the week, he still contrived to carry on some work. He had several books brought from his library, and he had his MS. of the short Hume biography now approaching completion. "I should like to have finished this Hume," he said on the last day he managed to work at it. Later on the same day he prefaced a remark as to

another object he wished to accomplish by the words: "If I get over this." One or two questions he asked also showed quite clearly that he had privately a doubt in his own mind as to his recovery. He endured his suffering with the utmost bravery, and no complaint ever escaped him. On Thursday and Friday he slept a good deal, but those around him, while feeling thankful for his rest, regarded his case with increased anxiety, though without immediate fears. On Friday evening, 19th November 1897, while the doctor was in his room, his heart suddenly showed signs of failure. Everything possible was done at the moment, but he did not rally. In a few minutes the heavenly veil was lifted and his spirit passed to God who gave it.

The great company of mourners which filled Morningside United Presbyterian Church on the day of the funeral evinced the profound sorrow of a very wide circle. The service was conducted by leading representatives of the three Presbyterian Churches of Scotland. The Senatus of the University, the Corporation of the City of Edinburgh, and many associations with which he was connected were largely represented. Some mourners travelled great distances to be present: from Carr Bridge and Grantown in the north, and from London in the south. A very large body of students also attended and headed the melancholy procession from the church to Morningside Cemetery. Men of widely opposed religious and political feelings were to be seen side by side, united in their grief. Many a one had perchance lost a friend he could ill spare. All knew that a man as brave, as wise, and as lovable as he who had been taken from their midst, they might seek for again, but might not find.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

By Professor A. Seth Pringle-Pattison

As already stated in the biographical chapters, it was in the autumn of 1848 that Calderwood first entered upon the study of philosophy. Sir William Hamilton's custom was to deliver his lectures on Logic and on Metaphysics in two successive sessions, and accordingly students who were attracted by the subject and by the reputation of the Professor generally attended the class for two sessions. Calderwood joined the class of 1848-9, in company with John Veitch and Alexander Nicholson, known to a later generation as Professor Veitch and Sheriff Nicholson. In the following session the two future professors, both lads from Peebles, stood first and second respectively in the list of class honours published by Sir William. Their names may still be seen in the Logic class-room—Veitch first and Calderwood second—inscribed in gilt letters on one of the twenty prize-boards which Sir William Hamilton left as a memorial of his tenure of the Chair. It was a time of great philosophical activity in Edinburgh. Twenty years earlier, Hamilton's article in the *Edinburgh Review*, on "The Philosophy of the Unconditioned," had given its author at once a European reputation. "I did not believe," said Cousin, whose theory was among those controverted in the article, "that there was an individual beyond the Channel capable of interesting himself so deeply in metaphysics, and I regard this article as an excellent augury for Philosophy in England." Other articles followed, and the reputation thus gained, secured Hamilton's appoint-

ment to the Logic Chair in 1836. This appointment, through the influence which his position enabled him to exert on young and plastic minds, was truly, as his biographer says, "the inauguration of a new era in the philosophical thought and condition of the country." "A more profound analysis, a more comprehensive spirit, a learning that had surveyed the philosophical literature of Greece and Germany, and marked the relative place in the intellectual world of the sturdy growths of home thought, were the characteristics of the man who had now espoused the cause of Scottish speculative philosophy. The speculation of the country had been raised above its comparatively low level, and brought face to face with the highest metaphysical problems" (*Life*, p. 215). The veneration of the ingenuous youth for their distinguished teacher about this time (1848-50) may be traced, in its lighter aspects, in the familiar letters of Veitch and Nicholson, where he figures half-humorously as "the illustrious man," "the glory of Scotland," "the dictator in metaphysics." Though the phrases are half-humorous, they are none the less inspired by the full energy of youthful belief.[1]

Like all Sir William Hamilton's pupils, Calderwood came under the spell of that brilliant and subtle intellect, but it was characteristic of the courage and honesty which distinguished him through life that the young student was not intimidated by the European reputation of the Professor (and, it may be added, his magisterial style of castigating his opponents and enunciating his own philosophical conclusions) from entering the lists against what he deemed fallacious in his master's teaching. His first work, published in 1854 while the author was still a divinity student, is a carefully reasoned attack upon the doctrine most closely associated with Hamilton's name — the "philosophy of the conditioned," which he had expounded in his first article in opposition to Schelling and Cousin. The author's letter to Sir William Hamilton, accompanying a presentation copy of the work, has already been quoted, and the preface to the volume exhibits the same becoming combination of modesty

[1] See *Memoir of John Veitch, LL.D.*, by Mary K. L. Bryce. (Blackwood and Sons, 1896.)

and intellectual independence. "As I have prosecuted the argument," he writes, "in defence of what I firmly believe to be truth, I have found it necessary to differ from Sir William Hamilton to a degree which is painful to one who has been indebted to the instructions of that distinguished philosopher. I feel for Sir William Hamilton a degree of esteem and respect which can be thoroughly appreciated only by those who have listened to his prelections. Notwithstanding this, however, I have endeavoured to pursue my investigations concerning the Philosophy of the Infinite with that love of mental science and that independence of thought which have been imbibed under his influence, and which it is his peculiar honour to cultivate. And although I have come to results differing widely from those of Sir W. Hamilton, I know too much of the spirit of his philosophy to imagine that he will regard it as unbecoming or disrespectful." It is satisfactory to know that Hamilton received the courteous but unsparing attack of his youthful antagonist with the magnanimity which such a prelude was fitted to call forth. The correspondence which followed is equally honourable to master and pupil.

The point in dispute was, as already mentioned, no other than Hamilton's most characteristic and most cherished doctrine, and it was a proof of Calderwood's philosophical insight that he discerned thus early the agnostic and sceptical conclusions implicit in the Hamiltonian version of the Relativity of Knowledge—conclusions soon afterwards elaborated by Dean Mansel in his Bampton Lectures on *The Limits of Religious Thought*, and subsequently adopted by Mr. Spencer in his theory of the Unknowable. Calderwood may be said to have been the first to reassert, in this connection, the traditional doctrine of Scottish philosophy against the agnostic elements of Kantianism which Hamilton had woven into his theory.

Hamilton wrote his article with the extravagant—or, at the very least, the extravagantly-worded—claims of the German idealists in view. The claims of Schelling, Hegel, and Cousin to a philosophical knowledge of the Absolute are specially controverted. If it had been possible to regard Hamilton's contribution merely as a protest against the apparent claim to see existence from the divine centre,—to comprehend and

deductively to evolve the constitution of the All,—then it would have called forth no dissent in the mind of his pupil. But Hamilton, in reaction, proceeded to make an absolute severance between existence and consciousness. Because knowledge is only possible under the conditions of consciousness, he maintains that "our science is at best the reflection of a reality we cannot know." "We strive to penetrate to existence in itself, but like Ixion we embrace a cloud for a divinity." "Metaphysic" as "the philosophy of existence" is distinguished from the true philosophy which is "restricted to the observation and analysis of the phenomena of consciousness." Adopting in this way the subjectivism of Kant's first Critique, he proceeded to declare that the Unconditioned "afforded no real knowledge, because it contained nothing even conceivable, and that it is self-contradictory, because it is not a notion either simple or positive, but only a fasciculus of negations," and concluded (in a famous phrase) that "the last and highest consecration of all true religion must be an altar—Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ—to the unknown and unknowable God." Hamilton's whole argument would seem to be vitiated by the definition of the Absolute or Unconditioned which is assumed throughout. The Absolute is taken to mean what exists entirely out of relation; if it were to enter into relations, it would, *ipso facto*, cease to be absolute. Knowledge implies relation to a known, therefore the Absolute cannot be known. Again, the Absolute is said to be "absolutely one," and absolute unity means "the absolute negation of plurality and difference." But "knowledge or intelligence supposes the plurality of subject and object." The Absolute therefore cannot be known, for "if known, the absolute *as known* must be different from the absolute *as existing*." Most of Sir W. Hamilton's opponents would admit that this relationless thing-in-itself cannot be known; its definition makes it unknowable. But then they would deny that such a thing-in-itself exists or is possible. A Hegelian would say that the Absolute which Hamilton is at such pains to demolish is just the Kantian thing-in-itself which Hegel considered it his mission to banish from philosophy. The Absolute is not the unrelated, but the sum of all relations.

Calderwood makes it plain at the outset that it was uneasiness about the religious consequences of such a doctrine which had originally prompted his investigation. He then proceeds to controvert Hamilton's assertion that "the Absolute can only be known if adequately known," maintaining that though the mind cannot embrace or fully comprehend the Absolute, "there is nothing in our mental constitution to prevent us having an indefinite conception of an object of which we can form no adequate conception." Dismissing Hamilton's distinction between the Infinite and the Absolute, he next, in a chapter of much argumentative power, lays bare the inconsistencies into which Sir William Hamilton is betrayed in stating the theory that we have merely a negative notion of the Infinite. "A negative notion," he concludes, "is no notion at all, and, irrespective altogether of our knowledge of the Infinite, a 'negative notion,' as defined by Sir William, is a mental impossibility, and its statement psychologically untenable. To obtain a negative notion by thinking away the positive qualities belonging to an object is altogether impossible. We can think only as we think existence; and we can think away certain qualities only by thinking certain other positive qualities in their stead." Or, as he puts it in another place, "to think away the limits of an object and yet retain the object of thought is to think it, that is to have a *positive notion* of it, as extending without limitation—as unlimited."

The fundamental misconception which is embodied in Hamilton's definitions and governs his whole argument is then boldly challenged. "If, however, Sir William asserts, as he does, that the infinite is that whose existence involves the absolute negation of all relation, we reply that *no such infinite exists*—we plead for the knowledge of no such infinite—and consequently Sir William's arguments to prove the impossibility of any knowledge of *such* an infinite are entirely apart from the question. Sir William Hamilton, in defining the infinite and in arguing in reference to it, plainly deals with a mere *abstraction* for which no one pleads either in existence or in thought." This cuts clean to the heart of the matter, and is the view which would now be generally taken (except by Spencerians) of Hamilton's principal contention. He simi-

larly controverts Hamilton's assumption that the necessary conditions of thought are fairly describable as "imbecilities of the human mind." "Does it prove weakness of mind that we cannot think *nothing?* What a *power* of mind it would be to be able *to think nothing*—to think and yet not to think! To think and to think existence are convertible terms, and is not thought precisely the *power* of the mind?" Hence (in the second edition) we find him analysing at greater length the ambiguities involved in Hamilton's favourite dictum "to think is to condition," as well as in the recurring phrase "to think a thing" (instead of "to think of a thing," Calderwood suggests), a phrase which is used, apparently, to imply that the nature of the thing is subjected to distortion and falsification in the process. In a passage whose combination of deference and sweeping dissent is not without unconscious humour, he sums up thus: "If I may express a judgment formed after much deliberation, I must say, with all deference to the memory of the revered and beloved philosopher, that the affirmation 'to think is to condition' is a proposition without a meaning" (2nd ed. p. 255). He also animadverts upon the illegitimate importation into the controversy of metaphors and associations drawn from physical quantity. An infinite Spirit is not *limited* by the existence of finite spirits in his own image who can enter into relations with Him. "God is not an abstraction. He is not a being *whose existence prevents all being besides.* In the eloquent language of Mr. Cousin: 'The God of consciousness is not an abstract God—a solitary monarch exiled beyond the limits of creation on the desert throne of a silent eternity—an absolute existence which resembles even the negation of existence.'"

Sir W. Hamilton had maintained that because the human mind is finite it cannot form a notion of the infinite. To this Calderwood replies by an apt and perfectly valid distinction. "While it is true that the finite mind cannot have infinite thoughts, we hold it equally true that the finite mind can have finite thoughts concerning an infinite object. While we hold it true that the finite mind cannot have distinct and definite knowledge of an infinite object, we hold it equally true that the finite mind may have an indefinite knowledge of an in-

finite object. Our argument is this:—Since the finite mind can have only finite thoughts, then our knowledge of the Infinite can be only finite, can be only limited, can be only indefinite; our knowledge is finite, but the object is infinite." As he puts it in the second edition, Hamilton's doctrine implies "first, that all knowledge must be complete knowledge, and secondly, that finite knowledge is identical with the knowledge of a finite object." So far is this from being the case that "when I say that I have a *finite knowledge* the limit is clearly in my *knowledge*, and there must be some evidence palpable to my mind that there is *also* a limit on the object, before it is possible for me to believe that there is. So far from these two being identical—that I have a finite knowledge of an object, and that I have a knowledge of a finite object—they really involve two quite distinct elements of knowledge, *first*, that I am conscious that my knowledge is limited; and, *secondly*, that I know that the object is limited" (p. 209).

Such were the main considerations advanced in this essay against Hamilton's thesis, and how much argumentative skill and real insight the volume displays will be apparent from this indication of its scope and from the specimens quoted. The book gave him at once a position in the philosophical world. Hamilton's letter in reply, with its detailed rejoinder to the chief points of his critic's attack, was itself an acknowledgment of his youthful adversary's ability. Mansel, also, writing in 1858, finds it necessary to defend his master's doctrine against the arguments of *The Philosophy of the Infinite*. Both these replies were fully dealt with in a second and greatly enlarged edition of the book, which appeared in 1861, after the author had become minister of a city charge in Glasgow. It is now described in a sub-title as "a treatise on Man's knowledge of the Infinite Being, in answer to Sir William Hamilton and Dr. Mansel." The publication of Mansel's Bampton Lectures in the interval had more than verified Calderwood's early suspicions of the dangers inherent in the Hamiltonian statement, and the fuller discussion in the second edition is therefore shaped with reference to this further development. The significant motto from Clemens Alexandrinus upon the title-page, Οὔτε ἡ γνῶσις ἄνευ πίστεως, οὔτε ἡ

πίστις ἄνευ γνώσεως, refers to the distinction between knowledge and belief with which Mansel makes so much play. "The sphere of our belief," says Sir William Hamilton in his letter, "is much more extensive than the sphere of our knowledge; and therefore when I deny that the Infinite can by us be *known*, I am far from denying that by us it is, must, and ought to be *believed*." To which Calderwood makes this simple and forcible rejoinder. "A belief can arise in consciousness only if it be possible for the mind to form some conception of the object to which it points, and there can be nothing more inconsistent with the nature of an intelligent being, than the supposition that it is possible to believe in what is essentially inconceivable. Faith can be nothing to an intelligent being unless it can guide the thought in seeking an extension of knowledge." "The discussion really involves such questions as these: Can we have any knowledge of that God in whose existence we necessarily believe, . . . or can we only repeat certain propositions, saying that we believe them to be true, while we never understand what they mean, nor draw a single inference from them?" How much he had at heart the cause he was advocating may be seen from an eloquent passage in a later chapter, which is intensely characteristic both of the man and of the genuine spirit of Scottish philosophy and Scottish theology. "When, therefore, Sir William Hamilton says that the last and highest consecration of all true religion must be an altar—'To the unknown and unknowable God,' I reject the statement with a thorough conviction of its falsehood, and abhorrence of its consequences both to philosophy and theology. That a full knowledge of the transcendent glory of the Deity is now, and ever must be, completely beyond the reach of every created mind, I admit with the most thorough assent of understanding and awe of heart. But when Hamilton says that God is 'unknown and unknowable,' and Dr. Mansel says that 'religion is not a function of thought,' I deny both assertions with the concentrated earnestness of my whole being. I prefer to feel some share of the emotion experienced by the Apostle Paul at Athens, when he witnessed that altar 'to the unknown God' and felt his 'spirit stirred within him,' rather

than to bow to the authority of the men who now proclaim that altar 'the last and highest consecration of all true religion.' With all my admiration and esteem for the men of distinguished ability who, in our day, have attempted to vindicate this dogma on philosophical grounds, I cannot consider it as anything else but 'philosophy falsely so called'; and that religion which is 'not a function of thought' I prefer to denominate 'superstition' and not devotion."

A third edition of *The Philosophy of the Infinite* was called for in 1871 after Professor Calderwood's appointment to the Edinburgh Chair of Moral Philosophy. Without disparagement to the works that followed it, this first work is in many respects his freshest and most original contribution to the philosophical discussions of the century. Those familiar with the ethical positions which he afterwards taught will also be able to recognise characteristic features of his later teaching in the short chapter on "The Infinite as Moral Governor." After a short argument against Utilitarianism he sketches an intuitional theory of moral precepts and of the function of conscience in recognising them, which contains in germ much that was afterwards developed and insisted on in his *Handbook of Moral Philosophy.*

Professor Calderwood's next publication was his Inaugural Address on appointment to the Chair of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh in 1868. Following the usual precedent on such occasions, he chose for his subject "Moral Philosophy as a Science and as a Discipline." While indicating his general adhesion to "the Scottish Philosophy" of Reid and Stewart, he does not seek in the space at his disposal to give any more detailed forecast of his own philosophical teaching; but it is interesting in view of his later work in that direction to find him dwelling at the outset of his professorial career on the exaggerated claims put forward on behalf of physiology as the true basis of mental philosophy. "The relative claims," he says, "of physiological investigation and analytical examination of consciousness, as instruments for attaining a knowledge of mind, may be easily adjusted, for these instruments are not rival, and cannot be made to appear antagonistic, save by ill-judged claims and mistaken criticisms." It was in

the spirit of this temperate conclusion, and with a view to further the adjustment of which he speaks, that he afterwards undertook the special studies which led to the production of his work on *The Relations of Mind and Brain*. The lecture contains some excellent passages on the relation of a professor to his students, and on the different methods of teaching philosophy which are favoured in the English and Scottish universities respectively. As the lecture is not now easily accessible, the latter passage is worth reproducing for a generation which has so much to say on educational method and university systems. According to the English method "the student reads first in the history of the science, and afterwards seeks definite conclusions in which his own mind may rest," whereas according to the Scottish method he "deals first and independently with the problems themselves, and afterwards contemplates the various answers to those which the history of the science presents." "While freely granting that special advantages belong to each of the methods named," he says, "I unhesitatingly express my preference for that which has been uniformly pursued in our Scottish universities. . . . The most valuable help is given to the student, and the most important discipline is provided for him, when he is first brought to consider what questions need to be answered, then led along the way on which the answers are to be sought, then left to find answers for himself, and only at a later period brought to a systematic and thorough investigation of the answers which have been given by the great thinkers of ancient and modern times. But if students are introduced to the problems only in connection with the several answers which distinguished philosophers have given to them, most conflicting as the answers are, there is danger that some may have their interest drowned under the rapid and troubled stream of opinion—that others may be floated down the stream under the guidance of a reckless speculative spirit rather than under the guidance of fixed principles, and that others may be carried forward under the dominion of enthusiastic admiration of the eloquence and intellectual strength of some great master, rather than under the sway of profound reverence for truth. Now thought is the essential

right of manhood; and that thought is worthy of a man only if it be independent, while independent thought is the only true preparation for a proper study of the thought of others. On these grounds I consider Scotland happy in the selection of her method of teaching philosophy; and the whole history of the philosophical thought of the century bears testimony to the wisdom of her choice."

His next work, published in 1872, was the natural outcome of his university teaching. This was the *Handbook of Moral Philosophy*, known to so many generations of students. Published when the doctrines of Mill and Bain were at the height of their popularity, the little volume at once made its way as an able compendium of the chief ethical discussions and an important defence of the intuitional and free-will position. It will not be expected that, in this place, I should give any detailed account of a book so well known. As a manual for students, it necessarily contains much that is common to all ethical schools, and even regarded as a defence of Intuitionalism there is inevitably a considerable extent of doctrine which is derived by Calderwood from older leaders of Scottish thought and shared by him with other contemporary representatives of the school. The doctrine of Intuitionalism, however, as formulated by the founders of Scottish Philosophy, acquires a fixity and precision of terminology in Calderwood's hands; and whereas neither Reid nor Stewart (though both Professors of Moral Philosophy) had devoted their primary attention to ethics, it is exclusively in its ethical aspect that the doctrine is now more fully developed in the *Handbook*, with aid from Butler and Kant and with special reference to more recent discussions. Accordingly it is not too much to say that Professor Calderwood came during the seventies to be regarded as the chief representative of Intuitionalism in this country.

Perhaps the most characteristic parts of his doctrine were the strict interpretation given to Conscience as a species of higher perception or immediate apprehension of moral law. Kant's doctrine, "an erring conscience is a chimera," was one of the Professor's favourite quotations. Error, he insisted, belongs to the process of judgment in which the intuitively

recognised principles are applied to decide the rightness or wrongness of any particular course of conduct. A second point was the insistence on the cognitive nature of the process just mentioned. It is not to be referred vaguely to a "moral sense" or to "the moral sentiments." The moral sentiments with which we regard an action presuppose a judgment as to its moral quality; the feelings cluster round, or are grafted upon, the judgment, which in turn implies the direct perception of a universal moral law. Many students will also remember the dialectical skill displayed in the examination of utilitarianism and determinism. The latter question in particular was vitalised year after year to successive benches of students by the closeness with which the Professor sifted the deterministic arguments. His own doctrine that the key to freedom of action or rational control of the whole nature is to be found in the power of Attention, is a psychologically important doctrine which is found in a similar form in the more recent works of Professor Ward and Professor James. In regard to the much-canvassed and highly ambiguous question of motives, Calderwood's conclusion is that "the strongest motive does not determine the will, but the will determines what motives shall be allowed to gain strength." The *Handbook* was largely adopted as a college text-book, especially in America, and passed through thirteen editions (over 14,000 copies) between 1872 and 1888. In the latter year, on the issue of the fourteenth edition, it was to a considerable extent remodelled with reference to the theory of materialistic evolution, the dialectic scheme of Hegel and the ethical doctrines of Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics* and Bradley's *Ethical Studies*. In its new form it continued to find equal acceptance, and since its first publication between twenty and thirty thousand copies have been sold.

It does not fall within my province to criticise Intuitionalism as a philosophical doctrine; the difficulties of the theory arise chiefly in reconciling the immediate apprehension of certain definite moral laws with the facts of moral progress and the diversity of moral standards at different periods and among different peoples. The philosophical desire for unity is also not satisfied by a doctrine which leaves us with a

number of self-evident truths equally ultimate and independent. Both these difficulties were candidly recognised by Calderwood; and though he did not abandon the traditional mode of statement, he recognised the justice of the demand for unity by a rather significant attempt to exhibit the moral laws as the outcome of a single principle. "In distinguishing between right and wrong," he says, "the rightness of using our natural powers for their natural ends may be accounted the earliest and most general form in which the distinction is recognised. *It may even be regarded as the foundation principle of morality.* If unity is attainable in morals it is here" (p. 33, 4th edit.). And again, in combating the hedonistic and utilitarian doctrine, he says: "The end of our being is not pleasure, but the full and harmonious use of all our powers for the accomplishment of their own natural ends" (*ibid.* p. 133). At the outset of the chapter on "First Principles of Morals" in the later reconstructed editions of the *Handbook*, he speaks of "the central fact to be explained" as consisting in "an Imperative of thought as a characteristic of rational life." "In view of the uniformity with which men recognise the *ought*, expect its acknowledgment by their fellows, and express it in informal and formal requirements, it seems impossible to maintain that in Ethical thought there is nothing of the nature of command or rational imperative" (pp. 43, 44). In this form it is obvious the statement of the position approximates, on the one side, to Aristotle, on the other, to Kant, and the historic value of Intuitionalism becomes apparent as maintaining against hedonism and naturalism the necessity for ethics of an absolute end or an absolute law. The protest of Scottish philosophy against sensationalism in the intellectual sphere and hedonism in the ethical sphere, was no doubt imperfect in its formulation, but its instinct was right and its spirit still lives in other forms.

The prominence given by Professor Calderwood to the ethical teaching of Butler and Kant formed a salutary addition to the academic discipline of Edinburgh students of philosophy. With a view to encourage and direct senior students in the study of Kant he undertook the republication of Semple's translation of the *Metaphysic of Ethics*, equipping it with a

short introduction and notes. This was published in 1869, the year after his appointment, and a new edition was called for two years later. Another work undertaken from the point of view of the university teacher was the revision of Fleming's *Vocabulary of Philosophy* in 1876, which was again revised, and finally almost completely reconstructed, in 1887 and 1894.

During the last twenty years of his life, Professor Calderwood's published work was mainly concerned with the relation of philosophy and science, more particularly with an attempt to settle the boundaries between a philosophical psychology and the advancing physiology of the brain and nervous system. With characteristic energy he applied himself to the study of anatomy, physiology, and general biology, in order to master the results of these sciences as bearing on the question of human intelligence and will. The result was his large work on *The Relation of Mind and Brain*, published in 1879—a highly interesting survey of the evidence, accompanied by critical discussion. It is as much to the credit of his insight that he should have recognised the importance of this line of investigation for mental science as it is to the credit of his freshness of mind and tireless industry that he threw himself in middle life into a department of study which seemed to lie far aside from his previous work. It was largely due to his high sense of duty. He saw an important piece of work requiring to be done, and lest what he considered the cause of truth should suffer by its being left undone, he resolutely equipped himself for the task. He was gratified to find that his work was not unappreciated. A second edition of the book was called for almost immediately, and a third has since appeared.

The value of the book lies in the fulness with which the relevant evidence is collected and discussed, and the firm yet temperate criticism to which the purely physiological view of mental function is subjected. Calderwood's general conclusion is that while the brain and nervous system may explain the sensori-motor activity of "animal intelligence," as well as large tracts of human activity commonly regarded as intelligent, there is in man a higher intelligence which *reflectively interprets* its experience in a way no animal does, and thus provides for a rational self-control of which the animal is incapable. "It

is impossible to construct a theory of the manner in which Mind maintains its relations with the nerve system. Mind in performing its functions must depend upon facts communicated through sensory apparatus. But Brain is not the organ of Mind in the sense in which it is the organ of sensibility, for it does not produce the interpretation of its own excitation, as it provides for sensibility and excitation extending to the sensory cell. Mind alone interprets the experience of organism; it alone gathers and unifies a knowledge of the outer world" (p. 315, 2nd edit.). Again: "These two facts stand indubitable. Disturbance of bodily functions can retard intellectual action. Thought, with its attendant emotion, can lower or quicken the vitality of the physical organism. As correlated facts they are strongly confirmatory of the position that there are in human nature two forms of existence acting and reacting upon each other."

Part of the material amassed for *Mind and Brain* was utilised for the Morse Lectures on "The Relation of Science and Religion," delivered in New York in 1880 in connection with the Union Theological Seminary. These lectures were redelivered in Edinburgh by request, and published in the following year. They are dealt with in an earlier chapter. The studies begun in connection with *Mind and Brain* may be said to be carried to completion in his last important work on *Evolution and Man's Place in Nature*. The former volume was in the main a survey of facts and a discussion of the evidence; the latter is a more systematic statement of theoretic results, and embodies his mature conclusions as to the bearing on philosophical and religious thought of the great movement of biological science in the last half-century. In general it may be said that, while accepting frankly the biological theory of organic evolution, he yet finds man's rational and ethical nature unexplained by his animal ancestry. The ethical process can be harmonised with the cosmic process "only as we trace both to a common Cause—a transcendent Intelligence—working out His will by the whole range of progressive action, so including in one scheme the forces of nature, the movements of animal life, and the intelligent activity of responsible agents."

The earlier chapters contain a lucid account of the biological theory of organic evolution, followed by a discussion of the phenomena of instinct and animal intelligence which, as it were, prelude to the appearance of man. Seven chapters are then devoted to "human life," at first comparing and contrasting its manifestations with those of lower forms, and then concentrating upon such distinctive features as Man's ethical consciousness, the system of civil law and polity on which civilisation is based, and the development of modern thought itself, whether scientific or economic and social. The difference again insisted on, as in *Mind and Brain*, is that between the perceptive and associative intelligence of the other animals and the reflective intelligence and reason of man. The sensory and motor functions may be common to animals and man, but that "helps nothing towards explanation of rational power in their use." The brain of the ape more closely resembles that of man than the ape's life resembles the human. Resemblance of structure thus becomes "fatal to the hypothesis that the superior intelligence of man can be explained by brain functions." Science offers no reasonable theory of the appearance of mind, and "there is no adequate account of the superiority of the human brain other than that which attributes its development to its use as organ of Mind." Like the Paracelsus of Browning's conception, Calderwood thus finds in man's advent the crisis of creation, so to speak, and the keyword which explains all the rest, but which is not itself explained by any enumeration of the steps which preceded and led up to it.[1]

"Here is a Higher Life, higher even in the evolution of its

[1] Hints and previsions of which faculties
Are strewn confusedly everywhere about
The inferior natures, and all lead up higher,
All shape out dimly the superior race,
The heir of hopes too fair to turn out false,
And man appears at last. So far the seal
Is put on life; one stage of being complete,
One scheme wound up; and from the grand result
A supplementary reflux of light
Illustrates all the inferior grades, explains
Each back step in the circle.

organic form—for this is the fact which first arrests attention; but higher specially in this respect, that a Rational Life has appeared, whose coming has changed the whole aspect of things in Nature. There are new sounds in the air, new abodes on the plain, and new work on the soil, as if, beneath the surface, something had become visible to eyes not seeing *farther* than the animals see, but seeing *deeper* into things. All this that is new comes from a dweller who not only understands but thinks and tells his thoughts, which are springs of new *feeling* within life, waking sentiments of the beautiful, of the sublime, of the true, of the holy. The distance between this life and the highest on the line of approach is enormous; the transition is startling. The historic observer must feel it to be so. It is the strangest thing in all this wide survey. . . . A new power is here, a new Life, a new 'capability of God-like reason' of which 'natural history' had given no premonitions, a power seeing above and beneath, besides 'looking before and after'; gazing upwards on worlds beyond its own dwelling; searching into hidden things beneath the surface; striving to find things which do not appear. Even more than all this, it is a Life self-directing in a new sense, guiding its movements by Light of Reason—a light now shining for the first time on the earth—a life finding a meaning in *work* which never before was included within the history of Nature's incessant struggle" (pp. 252, 253).

Thus it is in the ethical consciousness and its implicates that in the end he finds his sure anchor-ground—in the facts of self-direction, duty, and responsibility which for ever differentiate the human from the merely animal life.

These quotations are from the second edition of the work. The first edition, published in 1893, met with a good deal of criticism, from the scientific side in particular, as was not unnatural considering the extent of debatable ground which he had boldly endeavoured to cover. The scientific critics claimed, he says, that the lines of evidence in support of his conclusions should be given in greater detail. In order to meet this demand, and at the same time to elaborate and reinforce his conclusions, Professor Calderwood was at the

pains of rewriting a great part of the book, introducing into it part of the scientific evidence which he had already handled in *Mind and Brain*, and adding several new chapters dealing with the higher characteristics of human life as seen in the individual and in the history of the race. This occupied the greater part of his spare time during the summers of 1894 and 1895, and, with the exception of the unfinished sketch of *Hume*, was his last important literary undertaking. The conclusion shows the spirit of optimism and lofty hope in which the indefatigable worker looked beyond the present sphere to an unending future.

"In tracing the evidence for the Cosmic Process, which, by action of environment on sentient existence, provides for evolution of organic structure, Science has come to recognise the Ethical Process, distinct and apart from the other, applicable solely to rational agents, who are subject to higher law. . . . Standing on the confines of the existing order, in which these two processes are at work, the light now shining on Nature shows with increasing clearness the warrant for our expectations beyond the present. This earth is, indeed, but a speck in the ocean of existence, yet it belongs to the grand whole. From its insular position we can, in some measure, judge of the vast system of which it is a part. The Law of Advance now recognised, and filling us with wonder and admiration, belongs to the Divine plan, which we may venture to think holds in all worlds where Life has its eventful history. In the heart of this great system lie the cherished hopes of Humanity. The Ethical Process, working out its results, with whatsoever of penalty and whatsoever of reward are around us, carries thought into the unknown Future. The law determining progress here, we may be well assured, holds throughout the universe, wherever rational agents are. Assuredly, continuity of life implies continuance of its laws. Our forecast of the future is, indeed, but limited; our *maximum visibile* encloses but a small circumference, yet is its area expanding, as life is borne to higher altitudes. As sovereign power is ever working for righteousness, the vision of progress has no boundaries save those which come from limitations of its own faculty. Hope brightens with

widening range of view. As the sun sends its brilliance back over the scene from which it is departing, while spreading its splendours over regions beyond, so does the light of Science shine, not only on past ages, but on remote heights towards which men are travelling, to rejoice there as here in the one grand Law of Advance, guiding Life throughout all the Universe."

In this spirit did he meet his sudden call hence, and, in the mood of Browning's last poem—

> At noonday, in the bustle of man's work-time,
> Greet the unseen with a cheer.

The posthumous *Life of Hume*, written for the "Famous Scots" series, yields little for the characterisation of Professor Calderwood's own philosophical position. The story of the life is genially told, but the strict limits of the series forbade any elaborate treatment of Hume's philosophy or its effects upon European thought. No one, however, can fail to be struck by the breadth of sympathy with which the writer treats an author from whom he was so profoundly separated by his own philosophical and religious convictions. Whether it be as a philosopher, as a historian and politician, or as a religious thinker, he is everywhere anxious to put Hume's position in the best light, and to give the most creditable explanation of his motives and course of action. Hume's extreme sensationalism figures as "his brave and exclusive reliance on experience." Of his *Dialogues on Natural Religion* it is said that, though it may seem "to the reader who dips into it, turning its pages with a light hand," to be in the main a sceptical book, "to the critical student it will appear a book of great constructive worth, while it hides nothing of the difficulties of our speculative thought." "A renewed study of Hume's writings," we are told in the preface, "may lead us to a fairer interpretation of the attitude of those, in our own day, whose avowed doubts have induced earnest men to classify them amongst the irreligious." All this is highly characteristic of that mellowing of the whole man which, to a close observer, was one of the most noticeable and most winning features of Professor Calderwood's latest years.

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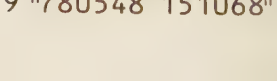

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